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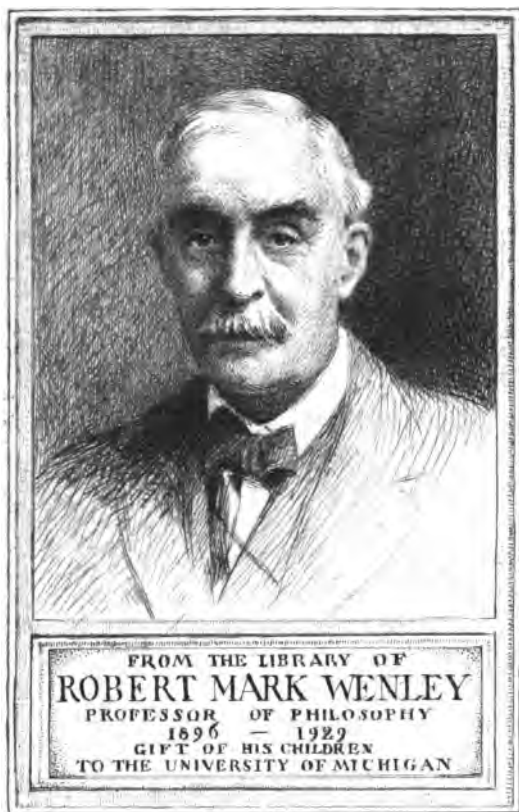
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THE
RED INTERNATIONAL

BY
D R. ZACHER
ASSESSOR TO THE GOVERNMENT

Authorised Translation of the Third German Edition

BY
THE REV. E. M. GELDART, M.A.
FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH PREFACE AND NOTES

BY THE TRANSLATOR

LONDON
SWAN SONNENSCHN, LE BAS & LOWREY
PATERNOSTER SQUARE
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

INASMUCH as the Socialistic movement is now coming more and more to the front in all civilized countries and making the social question the burning point in the political programme throughout Europe, while the significance of the said movement is too widely either almost ignored, or from lack of adequate information, too little appreciated, the Author believes he is meeting a pressing need of the time by attempting to give in the following pages a short summary of the development and present state of this international agitation as it exists in the several countries of the world. In doing this, it seemed advisable to confine the presentation of the subject for the most part to a statement of facts, leaving inferences to the judgment of the reader. At the same time, we cannot doubt that an impartial consideration of these facts will generally lead to the conclusion that the true solution of the problem how best to heal the sores of modern society is to be sought as little in the policy of indiscriminate levelling, which Socialism proclaims, as in that of unbridled individualism, but rather in the fusion of these two extremes—*i.e.*, in the corporate organization of the economic life of the community, aided according to the exigency of the moment by the active assistance of the State, whose essential vocation is surely to step in.

with its strong arm wherever real progress in civilization is unattainable by the mere combination of private efforts, to which it may be added that until the matured results of this policy have cut the ground from under the agitation with which Social Democracy threatens the public weal, repressive measures against the latter can scarcely be dispensed with.

THE AUTHOR.

BERLIN, *March*, 1884.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

WHEN my dear husband undertook the translation of Dr. Zacher's "Rothe Internationale," at the beginning of this year, he intended to state his divergence from the views, set forth by the Author here and there, in original notes. Of these, only those on pages 41 to 45, 46, and 55 were written, when his untimely removal from our midst, in April last, befell us. How far his sympathies went with a movement, which has for its object the realization of the human brotherhood and its liberation from suffering and want, may be clearly indicated, however, by quoting from a printed statement made by him shortly before :—

"To the outward and visible revolution which Socialists seek to accomplish, there is an inward, mental, and moral revolution corresponding. The one can only be brought about by active organization from without, the other by the silent growth of sentiment from within. In the simultaneous progress of these two sides of revolution, the inner and the outer, lies the only hope of an ultimate peaceful solution, a hope which no lover of mankind would willingly forego."

For the rest, I have only to acknowledge the kindness of the publishers, who have entrusted me with the completion of the translation, in which my son William Martin has rendered me some valuable help.

CHARLOTTE F. S. GELDART.

CROYDON, *October 15th*, 1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE we begin our description of the Socialistic movement in the several countries of the world, it may be well, for the sake of a better survey of the subject, to prefix thereto a concise statement of the essential principles of modern Socialism.

The father of modern Socialism is universally allowed to be Karl Marx, who was born 2nd May, 1818, in Treves, and who died 14th March, 1883, in London.

As early as the year 1848 he laid down the fundamentals of his doctrine as the mouthpiece of the Communist League, domiciled then in London, and afterwards in Cologne, in the Communist manifesto, which favours to this day the essential basis of international Socialism. This document has gone through numerous editions in all manner of languages, and very shortly after the death of Karl Marx, his colleague of many years' standing, Friedrich Engels (born 1819 in Barmen), prepared a new German edition, in the preface to which he expressly points out that the root idea pervading the manifesto belongs solely and exclusively to Marx. This root idea is according to Engels as follows :—

“That the economic forms of production, and the social organization necessarily thence resulting in each successive epoch of history, furnishes the groundwork for the political and intellectual history of the epoch in question ; that accordingly (since the break-up of primitive Communism in land) all history has been a record of the conflict of classes, a conflict between exploiters and exploited, ruling and ruled in the various stages of social development ; that this conflict has now reached a stage at which the exploited and oppressed class (viz., the Proletariat)

cannot free itself from the exploiting and oppressing class (the Bourgeoisie) without at the same time freeing society as a whole from exploitation, oppression, and class conflicts for ever."

Accordingly the present system, which rests as it does on the property of the middle classes, revolving about the opposite poles of capital and wage labour, and is therefore incapable of improvement, must be supplanted by a new system based on collective ownership (in other words, on the common ownership of all the means of production by the community), and on socialized labour, so that in the place of private production, following the unbridled bent of blind competition, and therefore necessarily leading to even more violent crises, should be substituted communal production regulated by the requisite statistics in regard to its several branches, and in the place of wages reduced by subtraction of the so-called profit of the employer to the limits of bare subsistence, each should receive the full result of the work which he has performed. In order to facilitate the transition to the new system the manifesto next formulates certain provisional demands, and then proceeds as follows :—

"When, in the course of development, the distinctions of classes have vanished, and when all production is concentrated in the hands of associated individuals, public authority loses its political character. Political power in the proper sense is the organized power of one class for the suppression of another. *When the Proletariat in its struggle against the middle class unites itself perforce so as to form a class, constitutes itself by way of revolution the ruling class, and as the ruling class forcibly abolishes the former conditions of production, it abolishes therewith at the same time the very foundations of the opposition between classes, does away with classes altogether and by that very fact with its own domination as a class. The place of the former bourgeois society, with its classes and class contrasts, is taken by an association of workers, in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all.*"

In these words the way is at the same time indicated by which the goal in view is sought to be obtained, and that this can never be the path of peaceful reform, the concluding sentences declare without disguise, for there we read :—

"In a word, the Communists everywhere lend their support to every revolutionary movement directed against the existing social and political order.

"In all these movements they emphasize the question of property, whatever more or less fully developed phase it may have assumed, as the fundamental feature of the agitation.

"Communists labour everywhere for the union and mutual understanding of the democratic parties in all countries.

"Communists disdain to conceal the purport and purpose of their views.

"They openly avow, that their objects can only be attained by the compulsory overthrow of all hitherto existing social order.

"Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communistic revolution. The Proletariat have nothing to lose therein save the fetters that bind them. They have a whole world to win.

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

GERMANY.

IN Germany the Socialist movement first came to the front through the agitation of Ferdinand Lassalle (who was born 11th April, 1825, in Breslau, and died 31st August, 1864, at Geneva). He took his stand in all essential points on the ideas of Karl Marx, but possessed singular qualifications as an agitator, which enabled him to strip those ideas of their obscure form of expression, and fling them among the masses with electrical effect. The occasion of setting himself up as leader of the nascent movement was supplied by an invitation of the Central Committee of Leipzig to call together a "General Congress of German Workmen," to which he responded by the issue of his "Public Reply," dated March 1st, 1863. This appeared in numerous editions, and contains the kernel of Lassalle's position.

Lassalle energetically opposed the twofold view then prevalent in working-class circles to the effect that the workers should either not concern themselves with political movements at all, or in case they did, should regard themselves as adherents of the Party of Progress, pointing out that the wage-earners could expect the fulfilment of their legitimate demands only from political liberty, but that in this respect they must put no trust in the Party of Progress, since the workmen's Party had objects of a far more radical kind than the latter, who, moreover, possessed no political sense of honour, and was powerless in the presence of a resolute Government. In particular the Progressist doctrine of self-help, preached in the form of the Co-operative Associations advocated by Schulze-Delitzsch (born 29th August

1808, at Delitzsch, died 29th April, 1883, at Potsdam), was a mere delusion, for the credit, advance, and raw material clubs espoused by him had no significance whatever for the workers who were employed in the large factory industries, but had a meaning only for the man working on his own account, that is to say for the producer on the petty workshop scale, without even securing him permanently against the overpowering competition of the great factory industries, and just as little could co-operative stores better the general condition of the working classes, because, under the rule of supply and demand, in consequence of the so-called iron law of wages, the average earnings of the workman must always be depressed to the level of the general standard of life, sufficing for subsistence and propagation, which obtained among the mass of the people.

Lassalle's advice to the workers was therefore to have a policy of their own, and for the immediate future to concentrate their whole strength on the struggle for universal direct suffrage, since then everything else would follow of itself. For when once the workers were in a position to make the State subservient to themselves, they would be able to assert the doctrine of self-help in its true form; that is to say, they would call into being Productive Co-operative Associations on a large scale, and especially in the more concentrated branches of industry, and there, combining together as Banking and Insurance Companies, would gradually by the mere progress of their own development starve out every private capitalistic industrial enterprise, and thus pave the way to the Socialistic State, in which the collective workers would be their own employer, and every one receive the full result of his labour.

Lassalle proceeded on the supposition that these simple and obvious truths would captivate the masses in such wise, that the Government would shortly be compelled to yield, and the Social Democratic State would then be ushered in by simple Acts of Parliament backed by the masses of the people.

Accordingly he confined the "General Congress of German Workmen," which was instituted at Leipzig, May 22nd, 1863, within national lines, gave it a strictly centralised organization, claiming for himself, as President of the Association, a well nigh

dictatorial authority, suffering no other unions to be formed outside of it, and declared the following to be its statutory aim :—

“To work by peaceable and legal means, especially by enlisting the sanction of public opinion, for the establishment of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, because only thus could a sufficient representation of the social interests of the working classes in Germany and a real abolition of class distinctions be brought about.”

The sequel showed that Lassalle had sadly deceived himself in his assumptions regarding the effect of his agitation upon the masses. In spite of all his efforts, he had only succeeded in gaining a few thousand members for his association, and when his early death deprived the movement of its main support, it fell more and more into the background, especially as the adherents of the “International” in Germany, led by Liebknecht (Wilhelm Philipp Martin, born 29th March, 1826, at Giessen) and Bebel (August Ferdinand, born 22nd February, 1840, at Cologne), visibly gained ground and did no small damage to the Lassalle party.

The “International” was founded shortly after Lassalle’s death, on the 28th of September, 1864, at an international meeting of workers in St. Martin’s Hall, London, and took its stand in the main upon the ideas of Karl Marx as set forth above. It was he, moreover, who drew up the programme and constitution of the Society (see No. I. of the Appendix). While accordingly the ultimate aims of both parties were the same, yet the International by no means shared the illusion of Lassalle that its objects could be realized in a day or two by purely constitutional methods.

It proceeded rather on the assumption that it would need a persistent and patient agitation in the first instance, to awaken the class spirit among the masses and to organize them into a close phalanx for the overthrow of the middle class ; and it sought with unerring judgment the field of this agitation in the Trades Unions, which were regarded at the same time as destined to form the preliminary school for the Socialistic State of the future, with its various organized branches of productive industry. It therefore chose for its organization a democratic federal form with a committee of several persons at the head of the whole, the

so-called General Council, which was to furnish the germs of the national, provincial, and local committees of the several countries, which, however, were to act in turn merely as the executives to carry out the resolutions of the congresses; and above all things the international character of the movement was emphasized, though of course it was understood that its operations could only be conducted at the outset on a national basis.

The tactics of the two parties were accordingly very distinct. Added to this difference of policy were personal squabbles between the leaders on either side, the violence of which was intensified when the immediate successor to the presidency of the Lassalle party, Dr. Schweitzer (Jean Baptist, born 12th July, 1833, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main), incurred the suspicion of "intending to make the workers' movement subservient to the interests of reaction." Since moreover, the organization of the Lassallians afforded no scope for the "International" policy, the adherents of the latter summoned a congress for the 7th of August at Eisenach, in order to arrange internal differences in the behalf of the general weal, and to call a new organization into being. The Congress sat until the 9th of August, with an attendance of two hundred and sixty-three delegates, who represented about three hundred associations and a total of 155,486 constituents. However, in place of the hoped-for agreement, the result was a decided split, so that the adherents of the International party constituted themselves henceforth independently into a German branch of the International, adopting a programme prepared by Bebel, which agreed in principle with that of the Internationalists, and assuming the title of the "Social Democratic Working Man's Party" (see Appendix No. II.).

After this the party in question, under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht, came more and more to the front, especially when the suppression of the Paris Commune and the promulgation of the French Law of the 18th March, 1872, had set limits to the further development of the International in the country which had hitherto been its headquarters, and it consequently turned its attention henceforth chiefly to Germany, where the political and social conditions of the time seemed specially favourable to it, while the approaching industrial crisis appeared to smooth the way for it.

In spite of this the extension of the movement was considerably hindered by the continued bickerings of the "Lassallists" and the "Eisenachists," and when in addition measures were adopted by the authorities which threatened the further existence of both organizations alike, it was thought advisable no longer to defer the final reconciliation, and a "Congress on behalf of Unity" was summoned for the 22nd May, 1875, at Gotha. This was attended by one hundred and twenty-five delegates, as representatives of 25,659 fully qualified members; its proceedings lasted until May the 27th, and resulted in the union of the two parties, which coalesced to form the "Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany" in the following terms: Lassalle's scheme of Productive Co-operative Associations, aided by the State, was embodied as a transitional demand in the general programme of the party, which for the rest coincided with that of the International, the new organization was adapted to the Internationalist principles, while as much allowance as possible was made for the special circumstances of the country, and the amalgamation of the hitherto separate organs of the two parties, the *Sozialdemokrat* of Berlin, which represented the Lassallists, and the *Volksstaat* of Leipzig, representing the Eisenachists, so as to form a "central organ of German Social Democracy," subsequently entitled *Vorwärts*, was projected.

Since then the programme of Gotha (No. III. in the Appendix) has formed the basis of the Socialist movement in Germany, and indeed, one may say, of modern Socialism in general, for its essential contents have been gradually adopted by the allied parties in other countries.

Now that the internal discord of Social Democracy was thus definitely healed, it made very rapid advances, accelerated by the pressure of the economical conditions of the time.

Already at the next Congress of the party, held at Gotha from the 19th to the 23rd of August, 1876, it was able to report that it had the services of eight resident and fourteen travelling agitators, seventy-seven speakers, and forty-six officials (such as editors, distributors of literature, etc.), that is to say altogether one hundred and forty-five well-trained pleaders of the cause, in whole or in part paid out of the funds of the party, as well as twenty-

three political journals, with some hundred thousand subscribers ; that it had disposed, besides, of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, among the rest forty thousand copies of the Calendar of the party ; that the yearly receipts were fifty thousand marks, and the number of formal adherents more than 30,000. According to the report of the following year (read at the Congress at Gotha 27th to 29th May, 1877), the number of political journals had risen to forty-one, and the number of subscribers to 120,000, of whom 12,000 took the *Vorwärts*, and 35,000 the illustrated paper *Die neue Welt*, while the Calendar had a sale of 50,000 copies, and, what deserves special remark, the Trades Union organization, under the operation of the Socialistic agitation, had made such progress that it numbered twenty-six large associations, with about 50,000 members, distributed over 1,266 districts, could show a yearly income of 460,000 marks, and controlled more than fifteen Unionist papers, with a yearly sale of nearly 40,000 copies, so that the centralization of all the unions was already seriously contemplated, and a General Trades Union Congress summoned with this view for Whitsuntide, 1878, the holding of which was, however, prohibited. A corresponding increase took place in the success of Social Democracy at the election. For example, in the elections for the Reichstag in Leipzig, Hanover, Stuttgart, and Lauenburg, a very considerably larger number of votes were obtained than in the general elections in the year 1874 ; and in Berlin, which, in consequence of the frequent presence in its midst of the Socialist members of Parliament, promised to become more and more the leading headquarters of the movement, the following were the results :—In 1867, 67 votes only ; in 1871, already 2,058 ; 1874, 11,279 ; 1877, 31,522 ; and in 1878, as many as 56,147 ! Altogether the number of Socialist votes in the parliamentary elections amounted to 101,927 in 1871, 351,670 in 1874, 493,447 in 1877, and 437,158 in 1878, in which years one, nine, twelve, and nine deputies respectively were elected. In view of these successes the Internationalist Congress of Ghent (9th to 16th September, 1877) saw fit to commend the organization of Social Democracy in Germany as a model to all foreign Socialists.

Inasmuch as Social Democracy proceeds on the assumption

that the State, as at present constituted, has neither the will nor the power to carry out a true social reform, and accordingly concentrates the whole force of its agitation on the attempt to undermine all the legal and moral foundations of the existing order of things, in order to overthrow the latter and out of its ruins to erect the Utopian structure of the Socialist State of the future, any really conservative Government, that is any Government careful to preserve the existing political and social order, must be concerned to offer its most decided opposition to the further spread of a movement so dangerous to the common weal.

As early as the years 1874-5, the General Association of German Workmen (the suppression of which had been twice resolved on in the previous decade), the Social Democratic Party of Workmen, and other Socialistic associations were declared at an end by legal decision on the ground of the Prussian law relating to associations of the 11th March, 1850, which prohibits the federation of political clubs with one another.

This, however, did not prevent the continual formation of fresh unions, cropping up with new designations and altered by-laws under fresh leadership, as, *e.g.*, the Socialistic Working Man's Party, the suppression of which was decreed in the year 1877. The Government, therefore, sought to find a remedy by way of legislation.

To this end it had already employed the Bill which afterwards became the Imperial Press Act of May 7th, 1874, in order to insert in its twentieth section a proposal for counteracting the excesses of the Social Democratic press. The provision in question was worded as follows:—

"Whosoever, by means of the press, shall represent disobedience to the law or the violation of the law as something permissible or meritorious, incurs the penalty of imprisonment or detention in a fortress (*Festungshaft*) for a period not exceeding two years. In the case of extenuating circumstances this may be commuted to a fine not exceeding 600 marks. Whoever, by means of the press, commits actions provided against in section 166 of the Penal Code of the Empire, is liable to a penalty of imprisonment for a term of not less than three months or more than four years."

Parliament, however, rejected this paragraph, because it appeared to endanger the principle of that freedom of the press which underlay the whole law, while the provisions of the 110th section of the Penal Code of the Empire, which it was precisely the intention of the Government to extend by this Bill to the press, were regarded as sufficient in themselves.

A second attempt in this direction was made two years later, on the occasion of the revision of the Imperial Penal Code, when by a corresponding extension of section 130, which makes penal the public incitement of class against class of the population in such wise as to endanger the public peace, it was also proposed to secure the institutions of marriage, family, and property, against similar assaults, whether in speech or writing.

But this proposal of the Government also encountered an adverse majority of votes in Parliament. The Liberals assumed the idealistic position that a free press carried with it the ultimate corrective of its own abuses, overlooking the undoubted fact that the ordinary uneducated citizen, especially if he be subject to the stern constraints of Socialistic party discipline, is neither able nor permitted to allow himself the luxury of the enlightening perusal of other newspapers than his organ; while the Centre, upon the other hand, from the standpoint of practical Christianity, was against all penal provisions, but desired to go to the root of the evil: a manifestly one-sided position, inasmuch as, in order to remedy an evil, one must, before all things, hinder its further spread. Furthermore, in the view of both parties, the intended provision was held to be juristically invalid.

The next occasion for renewed efforts at legislation was furnished two years later still, by the criminal attempts of the 11th of May and the 2nd June, 1878, and whether we assume a direct connection between these and Social Democracy or not, at all events the latter cannot clear itself of moral complicity therewith, in so far as the atrocities in question did but bring to light the natural consequences of an unscrupulous agitation. Since, meanwhile, the inadequacy of the ordinary law to cope with the ever-gathering strength of the movement was proved to demonstration, and the various attempts to supplement it had always failed, while the mischief which had to be combated had already attained such

proportions that nothing but measures of immediate and direct interference, specially adapted to the end in view, *i.e.*, essentially preventive, held out any prospect of relief, the Government this time adopted the course of special legislative enactment, and submitted to Parliament on the 20th of May a Bill consisting of six paragraphs, the object of which was to curtail to a certain extent, and in view of excesses, threatening the safety of society, on the part of Social Democrats, the freedom of the press and the right of public meeting for a period, in the first instance, of three years. Even now, however, the Government was disappointed in the support which it sought. At this juncture the second outrage took place, the dissolution and re-election of Parliament followed, and the result was a new Bill containing twenty-two paragraphs. In the preamble the Government defined its position as follows :—

“That for the State and society, threatened in its foundations by Social Democracy, it is a necessity of self-preservation to adopt an attitude of determined opposition to the Social Democratic movement. It is true that thought cannot be repressed by external compulsion, and an intellectual movement can only be effectually combated by intellectual means. But such a movement, when it enters on false courses and threatens to become pernicious, may be deprived of the means of extension by legislative methods.

“Yet the State alone will never succeed, even with the aid of the means proposed in the Bill, in destroying the Social Democratic agitation. These means furnish only the preliminary conditions of the cure, not the cure itself. Rather will it need the active co-operation of all the conserving forces of civilized society, in order, by the revival of religious sentiment, by enlightenment and instruction, by strengthening the sense of right and morality among the people, and by future economical reforms, to effect a radical cure.

“The ordinary penal code is inadequate to stem the agitation in question, on account of its predominatingly repressive character, in virtue of which it can indeed take cognisance of particular violations of the law, but not of a continuous agitation directed against the State and society. A revision, therefore, in this department is not advisable, especially as, in order to be operative, it

would exceed the requirements of the present, and lead to permanent curtailment of rights. What is wanted is rather a special enactment which shall subject the right of association and of public meeting, the freedom of the press, and the following of particular trades, as well as the liberty of removal from one place to another exclusively to such limitations as shall operate against the dangerous aims of Social Democracy, inasmuch as, confessedly, all morbid and extraordinary conditions in the life of the State call for a remedy by means of special legislation, directed exclusively to the removal of the immediate danger, and ceasing to operate as soon as their object is attained.

"In these few sentences all is said that can be said in regard to the principles that justify the course taken, and we would only add the reminder that every movement which is combated by means of a special enactment by that very fact is in a measure discredited in the eyes of all the world, and thus, for all wavering members of civilized society, a far clearer and more effectual line of demarcation is drawn than would ever be the case by means of a corresponding alteration in the common law."

With respect to the proceedings in the German Parliament in reference to this Bill, we would be allowed to recommend most earnestly to every one who takes any interest in the development and significance of parliamentary life an attentive study of the same, because they afford a thoroughly classical instance of the way in which the simplest matters of procedure, seen through the coloured glasses of partizanship, are often disguised beyond recognition. Since the space at our disposal and the aim of this treatise do not admit of further discussion in this direction, we may content ourselves with here observing that *inter alia* the law was branded as one in the interests of a party which "assailed the very consolidation of political and religious liberties," and was "only a prelude to the Imperial Chancellor's fiscal schemes, which had for their object to nullify the Parliament's right of granting supplies." It could therefore excite no surprise that the "Social Democratic" faction gathered confidence to declare every one who voted for the Bill a traitor to his country on the ground of alleged treason to the Constitution. The Bill finally passed in the revised form given in No. V. of the Appendix, and came into force in the first instance

until the 31st March, 1881, from the day of its promulgation, *i.e.*, on the 22nd of October, 1878.

When the passing of the law was no longer doubtful, the leaders of the Social Democratic party summoned a conference of delegates for the middle of October at Hamburg, in order to decide what attitude should be adopted in regard to the law. On all hands the official organization of the party which had heretofore obtained was regarded as untenable in the face of the new law, and was therefore declared dissolved in order to anticipate possible action on the part of the authorities. At the same time it was hoped to paralyze the operation of the law, by pursuing the policy of maintaining the solidarity which had hitherto subsisted between the members of the party, by the publication of colourless journals, and the formation of trades unions and social clubs, and of continuing the agitation as before by the distribution of inflammatory leaflets and intrusion into the meetings of other political parties. But when the promulgation of the law was closely followed by the prohibition of all associations and printed matter falling within its definitions, and when soon afterwards the minor state of siege was proclaimed for Berlin and the neighbourhood according to section 28 of the law, and forty-four agitators were expelled thence, so that the conviction gained ground that the execution of the law was intended in all seriousness, the word was passed carefully to avoid for the present all conflict with the authorities, in order thus to deceive the wisdom of the people's representatives and the powers entrusted with the vigilant observation of the movement, and to give rise to the general opinion that Social Democracy was no such dangerous affair after all, and therefore required for the future no exceptional measures to counteract it.

The short period, moreover, during which the law was in force was to be used for the purpose of the internal consolidation of the party, and of entering into relations with the Socialists of other countries or of strengthening such as already subsisted, of collecting funds, in a word making every preparation for renewed action with full force as soon as the law was suspended.

In following out these tactics the agitation very soon disappeared from the surface, and complete quiescence seemingly prevailed. It is true sundry protests were very soon raised against the

advisability of these tactics, and in particular the fear was expressed that for want of all public agitation the zeal of partizans would cool down, and the party then suffer morally and numerically, so that when the moment for action arrived it would not be so ready as might be wished, and as was requisite for the attainment of the end in view. As this opinion was not without support from the observation of the fact that for a time the contributions came in less plentifully, it was thought not wise to dismiss it offhand. Accordingly careful inquiries were made into the condition of the party in the several provinces, and only after satisfactory results had been everywhere obtained, it was decided at a secret conference held at the beginning of September in Wahren, a village near Leipzig, attended by delegates from a whole series of German towns, to abide by the present policy, and for the future also to continue to "sham dead." As a matter of course this decision excited the greatest displeasure among those Socialists who, like Most (Johann Joseph, born 5th February, 1846, at Augsburg), Hasselmann (Wilhelm, born 25th September, 1844, at Bremen), and their adherents, had always leaned rather to the open display of violence.

Hasselmann himself thought it would be far better to let fall the mask and proceed at once with the forcible revolution, without which after all no final settlement could be arrived at; even if it should fail, which under present conditions was to be foreseen, nothing would be lost, for blood was an elixir of peculiar virtue, and would at all events cement the party indissolubly together, whereas it ran the risk of rotting in inaction by the do-nothing policy now in vogue. The German Socialists abroad also severely blamed the attitude of the majority, and Most especially, who after his expulsion from Berlin had migrated to London, where since the beginning of 1879 he had published his afterwards notorious paper *Freiheit*, made himself very prominent by most violent attacks in that journal.

In order effectually to counteract this opposition the leaders of the party saw fit to start a journal of their own abroad, which appeared in October, 1879, at Zurich, under the title *Der Sozialdemokrat*. In spite of this the malcontents, under Most and Hasselmann, continued to gain supporters, and when in the

following spring the removal of the Socialist law was resolved on (see No. VI. of the Appendix), and consequently the chief ground was cut away from the tactics adopted by the party, a mutual understanding in the general interests seemed a matter that no longer admitted of postponement. Accordingly immediately on the close of the parliamentary session at the beginning of June, 1880, a congress was summoned at Rorschach. However, after the choice of delegates had everywhere taken place and the latter were in some instances already on their way, the Congress was suddenly countermanded, because it had been learnt in the meanwhile that Most and Hasselmann would also be in attendance with mandates of delegation, and that from several places, in addition to other sweeping proposals, the demand would be made to adopt the revolutionary principles *à la* Most and Hasselmann, so that an open breach was apprehended as likely to arise from the discussion of these proposals, which in the interests of the party it seemed advisable for the present to avoid. Since the opposition showed itself strongest in Berlin and Hamburg, the leaders of the party endeavoured, before holding the Congress, to obtain a previous understanding with their opponents in both places.

The Berliners were prejudiced against the Congress because in their opinion under the exceptional law the choice of delegates could not take place in due form, and consequently the Congress would be attended only by the leaders and their more intimate partizans, and could therefore not be regarded as a legitimate representative of Social Democracy, and finally because, on account of the weakness of opposition which they feared, there was after all no prospect of the demands which they would have themselves to make being carried. These demands, it must be owned, went a considerable length, and had for their essential points the cessation of all further personal attacks, reconciliation with Most and Hasselmann, and the adoption of their revolutionary principles, the appointment of a head of the party and a central council to control him, the adoption of a party organ written in an extreme style, an account to be rendered of moneys received, and the regulation of the system of subvention. It needed two conferences, which were held at the instance of the leaders in

July, 1880, in Dessau and Leipzig, and attended by delegates from Berlin, in order, at all events partially, to dissipate the objections of the latter, and to induce them to take part in the Congress, some points in their programme being conceded, while in regard to others they were recommended to await the decision of the Conference.

The Hamburgers, on the other hand, not only shared the scruples regarding the composition and the legitimacy of the Congress, but utilised the opportunity in order to give expression to their general dissatisfaction, though in another sense to that of the men of Berlin.

They declared their opinion that *inter alia* the Congress itself was only being summoned in order to strengthen the dictatorial position of the leaders, and to confirm the partizan mismanagement that had hitherto obtained. It was therefore useless, and dangerous too, for the Government would find in it the occasion for the adoption of severer measures. Equally useless and dangerous was the further publication of the *Freiheit*, the *Sozial-democrat*, and the revolutionary leaflets, since under the laws as they stood, these could after all not be properly disseminated, and in case of detection deprived the distributors of liberty and livelihood, while editors remained abroad in safety. In fine the entire leadership was corrupt, the leaders and their particular friends lived in luxury, all the rest had to suffer privation, and so forth. The complainants, however, gave the leaders of the party no opportunity of settling accounts with them before the holding of the Congress, but had their objections handed in to the Congress itself in the shape of a formal protest, which, however, was a few months later withdrawn, while at the same time the Congress was recognised as the final court of appeal.

The Congress met at last on the 20th of August in the old castle of Wyden, near Osingen, in Switzerland, and sat, attended by some fifty delegates from the most various towns of Germany, until the 23rd of that month. Most and Hasselmann never appeared. The composition and the proceedings of the Conference justified in a general way the objections that had been raised. Nothing like a serious opposition was raised, the less so that the delegates from Berlin barely defended their demands,

and the Hamburg protest, as an alleged libel inspired by personal spite, was not even thought worthy of discussion. The proceedings went smoothly along, and the resolutions, which were passed well nigh unanimously, showed that apart from a few insignificant concessions to the opposition, no essential change in the attitude of the party was considered either needful or advisable. On the contrary, the Congress unanimously resolved :—

That it considered the policy pursued since the promulgation of the Socialist law by the members of parliament and the party at large to be the right one, and declared its confidence in the conduct of its leaders under circumstances of great difficulty.

In conformity with the resolutions in which the proceedings issued, the leadership of the party was to continue, as heretofore, in the hands of the members of the Reichstag, while at the same time a committee of control was to be established ; Most and Hasselmann were to be looked on as expelled for having undermined the discipline of the party ; in the programme of Gotha (No. II.), before the word " means " the word " legal " was to be erased ; the *Sozialdemocrat*, now declared to be the only official organ of the party, was to be written in a somewhat more radical tone ; the details of organization were to be entrusted to the judgment of the members in their respective localities, and the elections should be taken part in energetically, whether for the imperial or provincial parliaments or the municipal councils, and that with a special view to agitation and propaganda ; especially was the most strenuous activity recommended for the parliamentary elections of 1881, and to this end the adoption of the following steps suggested :—

1. The taking in hand of the agitation in the respective electoral districts and close organization by every suitable means.

2. The adoption of regular collections of money.

3. In all electoral districts to proceed independently at the election without regard to the number of adherents, and to put up candidates, but in the case of bye-elections as a rule to abstain from the poll.

Finally it was further resolved :—

As a rule to summon a congress of the party every year, but at least every three years.

For the establishment of a regular alliance of Socialists and Socialistic Associations abroad with each other and with the party in Germany, as well as for the maintenance of intercourse between the latter and their foreign partizans, to found a centre of communication outside Germany, which should facilitate the intercourse of the several associations, receive and consider all complaints and proposals, etc., and decide in a suitable manner on their merits.

“And in consideration of the fact that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the united Proletariat of all countries, and that the Social Democracy of Germany has always from the first emphasized its international character, be it resolved that we accede, with the most entire sympathy, to the proposition of the Belgian Socialist Party of Working Men that an international congress be summoned for 1881, and charge the official representatives of our party to send two delegates to the Congress.”

The Congress of Wyden may be regarded as a remarkable turning point in the history of the development of Social Democracy in Germany. Its immediate result was to bring the differences between the thorough-going party of Most and Hasselmann and the so-called moderate one under Bebel and Liebknecht to a definite rupture.

The Radicals transformed themselves into out-and-out Anarchists, inasmuch as what they had hitherto regarded as a means towards the supposed emancipation of the Proletariat became an end in itself; that is to say, they held the existing state of things to be so corrupt, that they were ready to compass its overthrow by any and every means, however violent, without concerning themselves as to what should take the place of that which they destroyed. Their ideal was universal chaos, which must have as its necessary consequence the war of all against all and the break-up of all civilization.

The so-called moderates, on the contrary, had a clearer conception of the conditions to be reckoned with. It is true they also held the existing state of things to be untenable and past improvement; at the same time, they were not impervious to the knowledge of the fact that this could not be cleared out of the

way in a day or two, and accordingly in place of an immediate "overthrow" they preferred the slower but surely operating plan of "undermining" the present system, in order, when this should, as it were, break up of itself, to cause the "free Socialistic State of the People" to arise like a Phoenix from its ruins; only unfortunately the problem of the practicability of this system which is to compass the happiness of all, presupposing as it necessarily does either a whole population of ideal men, or the most fearful despotism, has not as yet been solved by any one.

One sees from this at once with how little propriety this party is designated the "moderate" one, and the Congress of Wyden had the effect among other things of clearing up this point, inasmuch as it took from the organization the nimbus of a peaceable party of reform. For since the Socialist law, according to its letter and spirit, is directed solely against those aims of Social Democracy which are dangerous to the community, that is against such as have in view the overthrow of the present order as their goal and an agitation which threatens the public peace as the means towards its attainment, whereas the erasure of the word "legal" from the programme of Gotha was dictated by the consideration that the recognition of the Socialist law was synonymous with the abandonment of the aims of Social Democracy, and this point of view was frequently espoused in Parliament itself by the Socialist deputies, the Socialist party by that very fact proclaimed itself as falling under the provisions of that law, in other words as being a revolutionary party. If in spite of this it attempts before the outer world to play the rôle of a peaceable party of reform, this is nothing more than a strategical manœuvre in order to maintain a show of legality in face of public opinion, and not to frighten waverers away. Very characteristic of this attitude of the party is the manifesto (see No. IV. of the Appendix) which was issued at the close of the Congress to "all affiliated parties and allies abroad," and leaves no doubt as to the international tendency of the party and its solidarity with all revolutionary and anarchist parties in other countries. However divergent therefore may be the views of the two factions of German Socialists, *i.e.* the Social Democrats and the Anarchists,

with regard to the policy to be pursued and the final goal to be attained, yet they both rest upon the same foundation, that is the conviction that the present system cannot continue and must therefore be overthrown, which can only take place by forcible means. We have then to do not so much with two different parties as rather with two sections of one and the same party, whose colour is no other than "the Red."

In proof of this, and in order to give the reader at all events a general idea of the style of writing adopted by the organs on either side, a few extracts from the *Sozialdemocrat* and the *Freiheit* are here added, published on the occasion of the report on the regulations issued in conformity with section 28 of the Socialist law from the council board of the Bundesrath.

We read in No. 8 of the *Sozialdemocrat*, 20th of February, 1881, the official organ of the "moderates" :—

"The Social Democratic party has always insisted that it was a revolutionary party, in the sense that it recognises the impossibility of a solution of the social problem on the basis of existing society, and that it therefore can only attain its object by means of a social revolution. We still continue to desire that it were possible to carry out this social revolution by peaceable means, and only a fool can reproach us on this account. But although we still continue to cherish this wish, yet we no longer lay stress on it, for every one amongst us knows that it is a Utopia.

"The enlightened members of our party have never believed in the possibility of a peaceful revolution; they had learned from history that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.

"To-day we all know that it is only by means of a forcible overthrow that the Socialistic State of the People can be attained, and that it is our duty to spread this knowledge ever more and more widely among the population."

This is only a confirmation of what has already been said above in this regard. But to continue, in Nos. 6 and 8 of the same journal, for the 6th and 20th of February, 1881, we read :—

"We opine that in case of actual war, whether from the east or the west, or both quarters at once, another and far more

formidable foe will have to be contended with than the foe from east or west, namely the Proletariat. That, indeed, will be a contest for life or death.

"Sooner or later famine, pestilence, or war must wend its withering way through Europe, and then the lamentation of the poor, which has hitherto died away unheard, will change to a cry for vengeance, before which the great and powerful will pale. Then will strike the hour of judgment, the hour of redemption."

These words are intended to indicate the well-known Socialistic idea of using the next great political complication in Europe for a simultaneous blow on the part of the whole European proletariat. It may serve, therefore, as a striking illustration of the patriotism of these persons.

Further, in No. 21, for the 25th of May, 1880, an article entitled "Social Democracy and Christianity" :—

"As a matter of simple fact, it must be candidly avowed, Christianity is the bitterest foe of Social Democracy. Just as so utterly underheaded a religion as Christianity could only strike root at all two thousand years ago in a humanity that had completely degenerated, so ever since its efforts have always been directed, not, as one might suppose, to rid the world of misery and destitution, but rather to use them for its ends, and as a cloak for its other vices and enormities.

"When God is driven out of the brains of men, the whole system of privilege by the grace of God comes to the ground, and when heaven hereafter is recognised as a big lie, men will attempt to establish heaven here. Therefore whoever assails Christianity assails, at the same time, monarchy and capitalism."

Finally, take the following declaration in reference to the assassination of the Emperor at St. Petersburg in No. 12, for the 20th of March, 1881 :—

"'God's will is done!' With this sentence the Russian *Royal Messenger* introduces the account of the end of Alexander II. . . . We are unbelievers ; we see not the hand of God, but the hand of man only in the 'crime' of the 1/13th of March ; but this 'crime' is, in our view, not the murder, but the execution of Alexander II. The death of the Russian despot is for us, at the

same time, a judgment and a warning. Judgment? Yes, indeed. Alexander II., called by his flatterers 'the Emancipator,' but in reality the 'Oppressor,' has long been condemned to death.

"Let the entire reactionary party of Europe raise a hypocritical howl of horror, as it will, never yet was a sentence of death so justifiable as this."

And now turn we to the *Freiheit*, the organ of the Anarchists. We there read in No. 33, for August 14th, 1880 :—

"It is no longer aristocracy and royalty that the people can intend to destroy. Here perhaps but a *coup de grâce* or two are yet needed. No, but in the coming onslaught the object is to smite the entire middle class with annihilation."

Further, in No. 45, for November 6th, 1880 :—

"Not by writing incendiary articles, not by revolutionary literature, spread among the masses, alone can a revolution be brought about. One may use these indeed as means of agitation, in order thus to awaken the revolutionary idea; yet the real factor of the fight with which we have to reckon is action, and this must never be lost sight of. . . . Forward then to action. Every single man who sympathises with us must also be firmly resolved to stake his life upon the issue. Away with every doubt and insignificant scruple that yet hold you back. Look neither to the right nor to the left. There is but one goal and but one way to reach it which we have to take, and that is the forcible overthrow of the existing society."

And further in No. 51, for the 18th of December, 1880 :—

"'Extirpate all the contemptible brood!' Such is the refrain of a revolutionary song. So when the battle is won will the executive of a victorious army of the Proletariat have to cry. For at the critical moment a revolutionist must ever have hovering before his eyes the block of the executioner. Either he must strike off the heads of his foes, or be beheaded by them. . . . Science now puts means into our hands which make it possible to arrange for the wholesale destruction of the brutes in a perfectly quiet and businesslike fashion. Princes and ministers, statesmen, bishops, prelates, and other grand dignitaries, a good part of the officers, the greater part of the higher bureaucracy, sundry journalists and lawyers, in fine all the more prominent repre-

sentatives of the upper and middle class, these will be the subjects over whose heads we shall have to break the staff."

In all this class of articles the so-called propaganda of action, especially the Policy of Dynamite as it is named, is preached, concerning which we shall have to speak more particularly later on. On religion, No. 6, February 5th, 1881, expresses itself in a manner which we can hardly reproduce, characterising Christianity as a "swindle invented by jugglers," and saying *inter alia* :—

"Do but read the Bible through, supposing you can overcome the disgust that must seize you when you open the pages of the most infamous of all dirty books, and you may soon observe that the God, whom this twaddle inculcates, is a million-headed, fire-spitting, vengeance-breathing, ferocious dragon."

We conclude with an estimate by Most of the St. Petersburg crime in No. 12, for the 19th March, 1881 :—

"Triumph ! Triumph ! The word of the poet has found fulfilment. One of the most odious despots of Europe, whose destruction has long been sworn, and who therefore in ferocious vengeance caused the death or imprisonment of countless heroes and heroines of the Russian people—the Czar of Russia is no more. Last Sunday at midday, when the monster was just returning from one of those amusements which mostly consist in feasting his eyes on well-drilled herds of stupid slaves of blood and iron, and which are called 'military reviews,' the executioner of the people, which had long pronounced sentence of death against him, overtook the beast, and with a strong hand despatched him."

This article, superscribed with the words "At Last," was, even under English press laws, visited upon the author with a penalty of sixteen months' imprisonment, which, however, only resulted in enhancing the public interest in and increasing the circulation of his disgraceful print. But that views of this sort were by no means isolated may be gathered from the fact that, among others, Hasselmann, who on account of debts had exchanged German for American soil, and at that time was still deputy to the Reichstag, expressed himself only two days after the crime, in reference to the same, at a public meeting in New York, and with special allusion to German affairs, in an equally cynical manner, and that

a vote of sympathy was passed by the meeting in question addressed to Nihilists of Russia, wherein among other things it was said :—

“Brothers, we entirely approve of your action. Kill, destroy, make a clean sweep with all, until your enemies and ours are exterminated.”

Any further comment on this is hardly needed, and it may suffice to indicate that the examples here cited by no means exceed the average measure of the reading offered as a rule even to this day, and that, in spite of all precautions to the contrary, both papers and leaflets of a like tendency are imported by the thousand into Germany and flung broadcast among the people, a truly infernal ingenuity being displayed in the constant invention of new ways and means for their dissemination, from their simple transmission in closed letters down to the more refined methods of enclosure in parcels falsely labelled, in hollow penholders, in bamboo canes, plaster of Paris figures, sardine boxes, imitation sugar-loaves, etc., and from the usual postal routes of communication to the widest circuits through distant lands.

As a matter of course, these events were followed with the liveliest interest by the Social Democrats of Germany, who on account of the scientific development of Socialistic ideas in their ranks and the power of resistance which they had displayed in face of the Socialist Exceptional Law enjoyed a high reputation with all the allied parties in foreign parts ; and it was all the easier for them to do this inasmuch as the numerous German associates living abroad were always kept *au courant* with all events, partly by means of direct communication with friends at home and partly by regularly obtaining the organs of the party. Sides were taken for or against the policy of Bebel and Liebknecht or Most and Hasselmann respectively, and thus the contrast which was brought to light in Germany under the operation of the Socialist law likewise found expression in the two international congresses which the Socialists held in the following year (1881), in July in London and in October at Chur, and which will be further dealt with in another place.

The London Congress, which represented the Anarchist side, declared for the immediate overthrow of the whole existing order

by every means, especially by the employment of explosives in the conduct of which policy, in place of a united organization, the initiative was to be left to the judgment of the individual. The Congress of Chur, on the contrary, as representing the other side, rejected the making of a revolution as a matter of principle, and proclaimed the formation of a close organization on a national basis in the various countries to be a necessary preliminary to the possibility of any common action.

Immediately on this the general elections were pending in Germany (27th of October, 1881), and these gave fresh occasion for the printing of the existing contrast. For the Anarchists' abstention from the elections on principle was a matter of course, since in their eyes any employment of the suffrage had long been a thing of the past, and could find no place in their programme. Otherwise judged, the Social Democrats, who here again were led rather by considerations of expediency, and were, moreover, bound by the resolution bearing hereon passed at the Congress of Wyden. Their point of view is most strikingly characterised in the fortieth number of the *Sozialdemokrat*, which on the 29th September, 1881, just before the time of the elections, published an article headed by the words "Why we vote at elections."

"We vote not because we think that by means of our voting paper we shall be able to secure the ultimate victory of our cause, for we know that by the voting paper alone the people will never come by its rights. We vote rather because we desire to record our protest against the scandalous political system, and the social exploitation of the masses in Germany. We vote in order to revolutionize the masses. The victory in our election means the victory of the revolution." At the same time, this first opportunity which had offered since the Exceptional Law came into force was to be used for a public muster of forces, in order, by the display of a number of votes as far as possible undiminished, to fortify anew the confidence of the party and to arouse in the people who still stood outside it, faith in the justice and practicability of their aims.

It must be owned that no small difficulties stood in the way. Especially was there a lack of candidates, of money, and of *freedom of transit*. However, the energy of the leaders succeeded

in overcoming all these hindrances. The question of candidates was settled by the expedient of putting up the same persons for several electoral districts, in the hope that if the same were chosen for two places, suitable arrangements might be made in view of the success attained. The needful money came in, for the most part, from abroad, Deputy Fritsche in particular (Friedrich Wilhelm, born 27th March, 1825, at Leipzig) having brought back with him more than 13,000 marks from his propagandist tour in the United States of North America, which he had undertaken as early as the spring, and a similar sum was supplied by a Jewish banker, who for years had supported the movement with considerable amounts of money; so that what was lacking was able to be raised among the members of the party. And finally it was sought to evade the awkward provisions of the Socialist law by intruding into the assemblies of other parties, by the secret dissemination of leaflets, and in such other ways as were found possible.

The result was that the party obtained a success with which it was entirely satisfied, for in all 311,961 votes were given, and twelve candidates were elected. It is true that according to these figures some 100,000 less votes were given than in the year 1878, before the passing of the Socialist law; however, one could scarcely thence infer a decrease in the following of the Social Democrats, since, on the one hand, the adherents of the Anarchist policy this time abstained entirely from the elections, and, consequently, were not included in the estimate: on the other hand, it is probable that no inconsiderable number of the other party had refrained from voting, either through temporary disheartenment or from fear of the Socialist law. The successes scored by the party in the year just elapsed (1883) at the secondary elections in Hamburg, Kiel, and Wiesbaden, those of the Saxon Landtag (Provincial Parliament), and the municipal elections in Berlin and other places, can only be held to confirm this view. In Hamburg Bebel was chosen as thirteenth member of the Reichstag with a considerable increase of votes as compared with previous years. In Kiel and Wiesbaden the party obtained a proportional increase, to the Saxon Landtag it sent four representatives, in the Berlin municipal elections it furnished more than a tenth of the whole

number of votes and got five candidates in, and in a number of places, *e.g.* in the neighbourhood of Leipzig and Dresden, it has already a majority of seats on the Town Councils. The first attitude assumed in Parliament by the newly-elected deputies, to which already in December, 1881, the debate on the institution of the so-called minor state of siege in Berlin (since 29th November, 1878), Hamburg (since 29th October, 1880), and Leipzig (since 29th June, 1881), gave occasion, found but little favour with the mass of the party, for Blos and Hasenclever considered it incumbent upon them to repudiate the responsibility of the party for all that had been said and written abroad, "since the sins of the party in other countries ought not to be laid on the shoulders of the party at home, which was without organization, without a press, and without any other official expression of life." At this denial of their comrades abroad, of the organ of the party solemnly recognised at the Congress of Wyden, and of the international solidarity that had just been publicly proclaimed by the official authorization of the Congress of Chur, a perfect storm of indignation arose.

The parliamentary deputies therefore thought it advisable to publish in the *Sozialdemokrat*, on behalf of their followers, a declaration, in which that journal was acknowledged without reserve as the official organ of the party, and the fullest responsibility was assumed for its general conduct.

At the same time the representatives of the party had to face the question as to what their bearing should be towards the Imperial Message of the 17th November, 1881 (No. VII. of the Appendix), which, as is well known, had very specially emphasized the initiation of positive reforms in the social domain as the corresponding supplement to the purely repressive Socialist law, and has quite lately received fresh confirmation by the Imperial Message of the 14th April, 1883 (see No. VIII. of the Appendix). As early, therefore, as December (1881), a conference was summoned at Dresden, where it was agreed "unconditionally to repudiate State Socialism so long as it was inaugurated by Bismarck, and meant to buttress up his system of government."

Nevertheless, in the course of the following year (1882), which, in consequence of the various Bills before Parliament in the social department of politics (with respect to insurance against

accidents, tobacco monopoly, dispensaries, etc.), and several petitions addressed to the House from working class circles (for the introduction of a normal working day, the abolition or restriction of female, infant, Sunday, and prison labour, etc.), furnished plentiful matter for prolonged discussion, which, moreover, was rendered exceptionally easy to the Social Democratic deputies by the use they were enabled to make of their free passes on the railways during the long period of prorogation, two different tendencies asserted themselves in the ranks of the party.

The adherents of the first thought it inexpedient, in view of the desire shown to meet them half-way, to persist in an obstinately negative attitude; they were not disinclined, under certain circumstances, to tack in their course, and accept what was offered, though only as an instalment. The others, on the contrary, rejected all partial concessions on principle, and refused even to consider what was offered on the pretext that after all it was mere humbug and political charlatanry, since, in their opinion, the solution of the difficulties was altogether impossible while the present political and social order was retained, and could only be expected from a radical and violent transformation of the same. The leaders of the party, therefore, considered it to be in the interests of united action to bring these differences to a settlement, and for that end employed, in the first instance, the festivities held on the occasion of the opening of the St. Gothard Tunnel for a three days' conference at Zürich (19th to 21st August, 1882), in order to discuss questions of policy and organization, to arrange sundry disagreements, to conclude the purchase of the Swiss Associates' Press and People's Library (*Schweizerische Genossenschafts-druckerei und Volksbuchhandlung*), so as to secure the independent constitution of the press of the party, to regulate matters of finance, and engage in preliminary consultations with a view to a congress of the party to be summoned for Easter, 1883, whose decision as to the attitude to be taken by the latter towards social reform should be finally reserved.

This congress was subsequently prepared for with the utmost secrecy. After localities in Switzerland, in Belgium, and in Sweden had at first been projected for the place of meeting, the choice fell ultimately, just before the time for the Congress to open, on

Copenhagen, and it was only at the last moment that the delegates were informed where it was to be held, so that even proved adherents of the party had received no information as to where and when the sitting commenced until a Parisian journal, it was said through the indiscretion of one of the members who took part in it, published a notice of it. The Congress had met on the 29th of March, 1883, in Copenhagen, and sat, attended by sixty delegates, including representatives of the German Socialists of Zürich, Paris, and London, until the 1st of April.

The official programme was as follows :—

- I. General report on the state of the party, the sums collected on behalf of the support fund, and their expenditure.
- II. Communications respecting the financial condition of the *Sozialdemocrat*.
- III. Report on the work of the parliamentary deputies.
- IV. *The attitude of the Social democracy of Germany to social reform.*
- V. The renewal of the Socialist law ; the policy of the party and the bearing of the *Sozialdemocrat*.
- VI. The parliamentary elections.
- VII. Organization and agitation in view of the same.

The programme was gone through in the main in seven sittings, under Bebel's presidency, in the club-room which the Socialists of Copenhagen most readily placed at the disposal of the Congress ; and the outcome of the proceedings was, in substance, as follows : The general condition of the party was characterised as thoroughly satisfactory. The reader of the report set forth, amid universal approval, that the party stood with unbroken ranks, and that since the Wyden Congress it had, in spite of the Socialist law, in spite of the industrial depression, and every kind of persecution, decidedly gained in confidence and hope for the future. This result was mainly owing to the parliamentary elections of the year 1881, in which, although they had not issued everywhere as might be wished, yet the party had, so to speak, for the first time stood fire under the operation of the law, and obtained a knowledge of its own strength and of tactics to be pursued in the *matter of agitation and organization*. If advantage was taken of

the experience thus gained, it might with certainty be assumed that at the next election the number of votes cast in the year 1878 would be again reached, for the spirit displayed everywhere was excellent, the organ of the party had a constantly increasing circulation, and the agitation had been materially facilitated by recent decisions of Parliament, in accordance with which Socialist voting papers, electioneering meetings, and collections of money on behalf of the families of persons banished, were not directly subject to the Socialist law, so that it only remained to use all efforts to widen these "rents" in the law in question.

Money, according to the report, had come in to the amount of 95,000 marks in the period between August 5th, 1881, to February 28th, 1883, in Germany, besides 20,000 sent for different purposes to Zürich, and at least 150,000 marks for the support of the cause, for elections, etc., had been raised and spent upon the spot in various places; at the same time, the contributions sent in from America were mentioned with especial praise and gratitude. Divers expressions of a desire to secure to members a more minute and regular inspection into the expenditure of the moneys received, with a view to the removal of the suspicions cropping up here and there with regard to the persons entrusted with the collection of contributions, were characterised as undoubtedly justifiable in themselves, but partly as impracticable and partly, in view of the exceptional law, as dangerous, and after prolonged discussion it was resolved:—

That the *Sozialdemocrat* should make a quarterly statement, simultaneously with the acknowledgment of the sums received, of the total expenditure, and that a half-yearly revision by a committee appointed for the purpose should take place, and a short report of the same be given in the *Sozialdemocrat*, but that detailed accounts were only to be laid before the congresses or conferences, as the case might be. The complaints raised in several quarters regarding the advantage taken of the funds of the party by undeserving persons were disposed of by the recommendation of greater care in the examination of applicants' statements; and in addition, in order to limit the tendency to emigration too frequently manifested of late, only such emigrants should in future be assisted, as had been legally proceeded

against or exiled and could furnish due documentary proof of the fact.

The financial state of the journal, with the conduct of which on the whole agreement was expressed, was described as satisfactory, since the number of subscribers in Germany was four times as large as at the time of the Congress of Wyden, so that the organ not only covered its own cost, but already began to recoup previous expenditure. Moreover, in order to secure a safe position for the printing of the paper and to produce without hindrance other literature, which was endangered by the Socialist law, the former Swiss Association's Book-printing Establishment and People's Library in Hottingen-Zürich had been purchased by the party.

To the deputies to the Reichstag testimony was borne that they had fulfilled their duties, and the reproach that some of them had observed too much moderation and appeared not entirely to agree in principle with the programme of the party was met by the declaration that although of course opinions would vary on points of detail, yet that all stood upon the ground taken up in the programme, and that each might and must work for the cause as he could. With regard to the attitude to be taken by Social Democrats towards social reform, no discussion took place on account of the shortness of the time; it was, however, unanimously resolved:—

That the Congress neither believes in the honest intention nor in the capacity of the ruling class, but is convinced that the "so-called" social reform is only meant to be used as a strategical means for leading the workers astray from the true path. It is, however, the duty of the party, and in the several parliaments of their representatives, in regard to all proposals directed to the improvement of the economical position of the people without respect to the motives prompting them, energetically to espouse the interests of the working classes, though of course in doing so not to waive for one moment the demands of Socialism in their integrity.

With regard to the Socialist law it was agreed that its abolition was by no means certain, and that no illusions should be indulged in this respect. But even if the law were to be abolished,

exactly the same foes would confront Social Democracy as before. It was more than foolish to cherish hopes with regard to the social reforms announced with such pomp, hopes that after all never could be realized under the existing *régime*. The Government, even granting it goodwill, was powerless to subordinate the ruling classes, permeated as they were with the strife of vested interests, to any large political idea.—Economical conditions had so contorted the conditions of party that it became impossible for any Government to gain a solid and permanent majority so as to smooth the way for genuine social reform. The state of things must necessarily end in the breakdown of existing society. It therefore only remained for Social Democracy to observe the same tactics as heretofore, and resolutely to avoid any concession to the ruling classes, as well as any considerations founded on the possible indulgence of the authorities, but rather to proceed in every respect without regard to any such considerations.

The question of the parliamentary elections occupied two days. In the first place the opinion that as matters at present stood it was more important to obtain as many seats as possible, than to make a great display of numbers at the poll, met with strenuous opposition, chiefly on the ground that it was the main concern of the party to spread and awaken Social Democratic sentiments among the masses, since this alone was the surest guarantee for the success of the cause.

Next it was resolved to publish a general electioneering manifesto, as well as a manual of instructions in pamphlet form (which has since appeared), the latter to contain the legal provisions bearing on the subject and advice as to the conduct to be pursued in view of proceedings taken by the authorities, etc.

The deputies to the Reichstag were commissioned to appoint, at the proper time, five persons whose duty should be to make all arrangements required for the elections, give advice and information, especially in the case of double elections, to decide, after carefully weighing all the circumstances and consulting confidential persons in the districts in question, which place the elected candidate should accept, and who should be proposed as candidate for the secondary election; it was also resolved to enter

without delay on the preparations for the general parliamentary elections of 1884, to obtain the means in every requisite shape, and to take in hand or perfect the organization in the several electoral districts.

The very exhaustive debates which took place on the fundamental policy to be pursued at the elections finally issued in the resolution to maintain the decision of the Congress of Wyden hereanent, according to which, at the first election, only candidates of the party, that is such as accepted the programme in its entirety, and submitted to party discipline, and trained themselves to take their share in all measures inaugurated by its representatives, should be proposed, and every compromise with other parties was held to be inadmissible, while, in the case of bye-elections, abstention from the poll was, as a rule, recommended.

In discussing the questions of organization and agitation, it was resolved to entrust the members of parliament as well with the leadership of the party as with the right to add to their number while the wish expressed in various quarters for the introduction of a close organization, that is to say one composed of compact groups formally distributed throughout the whole of Germany was rejected, partly on the ground that in view of possible collisions with existing laws, it would be dangerous, and partly because the successes so far attained showed that it might be dispensed with. On the other hand, the establishment of a centre of communication in Germany was considered, and it was declared to be the duty of every member to extend the agitation to the best of his power to the districts lying near the place of his residence.

As specially to be recommended for purposes of agitation the speeches of the parliamentary deputies were named.

After reading the congratulatory addresses of the Russian Socialists in Zürich and Geneva, which emphasized the solidarity and internationality of the Socialistic movement, and that of the national committee of the social revolutionary party of the workers in France, which was worded in a similar sense, as well as passing a vote of thanks on the part of the assembly to the kind friends of the cause in Denmark, with whom, on the 31st of March,

fraternal feast was celebrated, the Congress thereupon closed with the singing of the Workers' Marseillaise and a storm of cheers for Social Democracy.

Before we now consider more particularly the significance of this congress, we may here at once point out that in addition to what has above been put before the reader as extracted from the official minutes of the Congress, several matters were considered and resolved upon besides, which, on grounds of policy, it was not thought well to incorporate in the report, whence, among other things, it appeared that, in order to win over the rural population to the cause of Socialism, all attacks on religion were to be at the outset avoided, and in preference political and economical freedom proclaimed, because religion in the end would fall overboard of itself, and with a special view to this "peasant propaganda" preliminary operations should be commenced by the most zealous agitation among the soldiers whose discharge was then at hand.

In a similar manner the agitation was to be extended among women, students, and other so-called educated circles in order to obtain among these classes also a larger number of adherents. Further, the Anarchists were to be combated by every decent means, inasmuch as these were to be regarded as no less bitter foes than the most obstinate reactionaries, and so forth. Especially noteworthy is one point that likewise found, indeed no special mention in the official order of proceedings, but promises to become of ever-increasing importance for the Socialist movement.

We mean the question of Trades Union organization, the significance of which for Social Democracy is to be found primarily in the awakening of class antagonism by means of the inauguration of strikes, in the education of the masses for political conflict by accustoming them to submit to discipline, and in preparing them for the Socialistic State by organizing them under the various branches of industry. It is true that, as may be seen from what has preceded, this is no new idea, since the same found a place at the time in the programme of the International, and also was warmly advocated at the Congress of Gotha, as, indeed, the general connection between the Trades Unions

organization and Social Democracy is so far a necessary one, in that the latter can only become capable of action on the basis of the former, that is to say by gradually acquiring the leadership in the Trades Unions, in order to gain thence a constant accession of recruits for its ranks.

But of late this question begins to come more and more to the front, not only in Germany, but, as we shall see below, in other civilized countries also, wherever the Socialist movement has already attained importance; and in Germany a corresponding increase in the vigour of trade organization may be observed ever since the year 1881. Everywhere the word was passed to encourage and promote to the utmost the fresh formation of such unions.

In Leipzig and Berlin resolutions were expressly framed with this object. The *Sozialdemocrat* represented the trades organizations as peculiarly fitting fields for agitation, and in doing so laid stress on the doctrine that the future of Social Democracy depended on them. Liebknecht recommended them in a public address at Chemnitz, and in Halle it was resolved at a numerously attended meeting to advise the Congress of the party which it was proposed to call for Easter, 1883, to make the centralisation of the Trades Union movement in an international sense the subject of deliberation. Berlin in particular seems, as the headquarters of specially intelligent and able agitators, to have taken the lead in this movement in consequence of its central position, and, perhaps also under the influential co-operation resulting from the frequent presence of the Socialistic deputies in that place; at all events since 1881, something like forty different associations representing separate industries have been founded, and in many trades the endeavour has become manifest already to extend the organization over the whole of Germany, and to unite it in a grand national and perhaps subsequently in an international union. It is true that the Social Democrats seek to deny on every opportunity any relations either direct or indirect with the Trades Unions, evidently with the sole object of not endangering the rising organization prematurely, and being able to co-operate with it in secret all the more zealously. At all events, the belief in their own

assurances must be as absent from their minds as from that of any impartial observer who has recognised the necessary connection indicated above.

If, as we have thus seen, Social Democracy has need of the Trades Unions as a condition of its own existence, the converse by no means holds, and all genuine adherents of the latter should ever bear this truth in mind, in order not to allow the rising organization to be led astray, and thus imperil all the trouble and sacrifice undergone, but rather direct their whole efforts to the attainment of those objects that lie within the natural scope of Trades Unions, and promise for the pains expended really attainable and tangible advantages.

Returning now to the content of the transactions of the Congress, the real significance of the same consists on the whole less in having opened up new points of view, than rather in the fact that what had hitherto passed only for the view of the organ of the party and of individual leaders is now raised to the rank of an official declaration of opinion of the whole party, so that the latter has henceforth accepted and must accept the full and entire responsibility for it. Especially characteristic in this respect is the attitude which the party takes up towards the Government of the day and the social reforms espoused by it. The party proceeds upon the fundamental assumption that the State as it stands is neither able nor willing to carry out any genuine reform, the first because the capitalistic bourgeoisie would never under any circumstances lend its assistance to measures which imperilled its own vital interests, and the second because the Government itself harbours the *arrière-pensée* of simply holding out pretended reforms as a bait to the working classes in order with their help to break the power of the bourgeoisie. As a logical consequence of this the party adopts toward present efforts at reform a not merely distrustful but actually hostile attitude, and if notwithstanding in the transactions of the Congress it said that the Socialist deputies in Parliament in the case of all such Bills as furnish the occasion are to have an eye to the interests of the workers, in so far as this is possible without sacrifice of principle, yet it would be a mistake to see anything more in this than a tactical manœuvre, in order to veil

from outsiders as far as may be their repudiation on principle of all measures tending to the removal of social evils, and to continue with success to play their self-arrogated rôle of representatives of the suffering classes. This view is corroborated by the fact that the party now, as formerly, beholds in participation in the elections and in legislative work simply and solely a means of Socialistic agitation and propaganda, and refuses every kind of positive co-operation. In this connection we may remind the reader of the extracts made above from the transactions of the Congress, and draw attention to the fact that in the preface to the printed official report it is said :—

“We are a revolutionary party, our aim is a revolutionary one, and we indulge in no illusions as to its realization by parliamentary means !”

And in No. 25 of the *Sozialdemocrat*, for 14th June, 1883, we read :—

“Social reform after all, if it is not a miserable swindle, is in its aim and essence identical with social revolution, of which it signifies the legitimation and accomplishment !”

And in a similar strain Socialist deputies at home and abroad, and even in Parliament, have repeatedly expressed themselves. Quite in conformity hereto was their bearing towards the first project of reform, the Provident Dispensaries Bill ; not only did they unanimously vote against it, but they even subsequently did their best after it had become law, by leaving no stone unturned, to bring it into all possible discredit in the eyes of those for whose benefit it was intended before it came into force, and thus to make it a still-born child. However such tactics, which raise a questionable party interest above the legitimate claims of the community, can appear justifiable, especially when proceeding from a party which always poses as the representative of the suffering classes, may be left to the judgment of the reader. But it must appear nothing less than an insensate demand when a party which has repeatedly declared war to the knife with existing order, and by its revolutionary bearing has forced into the hands of the latter the weapons of defence should request its declared mortal foe to lay down its arms without misgiving, since as soon as the Socialist law shall lapse

Social Democracy also; if circumstances should allow, will again show itself pacific.

The Social Democratic party can scarcely itself believe in the seriousness of such a request, but it is a cheap means to preserve to itself in the eyes of the less well informed outer world the show of martyrdom as a party needlessly and unrighteously oppressed. In this connection we must again and again point out that the Socialist law is directed only against those aims of Social Democracy which threaten the safety of the community, and that there is nothing in the world to hinder it from co-operating actively in the reforms in question, or even initiating such after its own liking, so soon only as it will give up its revolutionary policy, which no State either can or ought to tolerate. In this respect the utter perversity of the party is shown. It, which has always the sufferings of the working man on its lips, and seeks to represent them as such as can be no longer endured, wraps itself in the mantle of cold and stiff negation as soon as it is proposed to do anything to alleviate these sufferings, simply because the proposal does not suit its own party "tactics." The workers themselves ought before all others to take note of this, in order with all possible speed to arrive at a correct conclusion as to which side represents their true interests.

If we contemplate the present position of Social Democracy in Germany, or, as it officially, once more, entitles itself, the Socialist Party of German Working Men, one must certainly allow that it to-day displays an assurance of victory unprecedented heretofore, and this was asserted at the Congress of Copenhagen with especial satisfaction.

If one realizes the successes of the party, this appears only natural. In spite of the Socialist law, it has managed to form an organization which has made it the envy of all allied parties abroad. In spite of the poverty of its adherents, it has pecuniary means at its disposal which suffice for all calls made upon them, although the assistance given to the so-called "victims of the Socialist law," the support of the press, as well as that of the entire agitation, make no small demands upon these means. In spite of the vigilance of the authorities, the party always contrives to find fresh ways and means to spread their literature

in the face of legal prohibition, and finally the various elections have proved that the adherents of the party have scarcely suffered any diminution of their numbers under the Socialist law !

Many a reader will therefore ask :—What then has been the use of that law, if in spite of it such successes are possible ? Since in this regard vague ideas prevail in many quarters, all the more so that those who are opposed on principle to this and other exceptional legislation do their best to confuse people's notions, and prevent an impartial estimate of the law and its effects, a few elucidatory comments would seem here not out of place.

When the Socialist law was promulgated, two opposite views prevailed as to its probable effect. The one side thought that the law would do away with Social Democracy at a blow ; the other expected it would grow like an avalanche. The sequel showed that the correct view was to be sought in the mean between these two extremes, and that the law completely answers its real purpose. This consists, as is already emphasized in the preamble, in the check offered to the further spread of the pernicious movement, for which end this furnishes the appropriate means in the suppression of Socialist clubs, meetings, printed matter, and collections of money, as well as of professional agitation. If, however, it be asked, What has hitherto been attained in this direction ? we must point out in the first place that open agitation may on the whole be regarded as already suppressed, and accordingly that the former tranquillity and security is restored to public life, so that in circles not intimately acquainted with the facts one may not seldom hear the wondering query whether there is any Social Democratic movement left. Now it is true that the place of open is taken by secret agitation. Yet it can scarcely be said that the latter has become stronger to any great extent, than it was ever before the passing of the Socialist law. On the contrary, through the immediate application of the law to it, the secret organization, especially at the centres of the movement, has always been broken up again and again, and even by the repeated expulsion of prominent leaders has for a time been rendered impossible for lack of suitable substitutes for those expelled, and by this means disheartenment, discontent,

mutual distrust has not seldom been caused in the ranks of Social Democracy. An instance of this is afforded, for example, by the emigration of the deputies Fritzsche, Vahlteich, and others to America; the retirement of several leaders from the movement, as, *e.g.*, the brothers Kapell and Hartmann; further by the circumstance that here and there, where the stern restraint of the party which completely controls the mental, social, and even material life of the members has been broken through, sympathy and interest begin to be manifested for the Government's projects of social reform; and finally the separation of the Anarchists from the party and their powerlessness may be added to the same account.

In conclusion then the wish may be expressed that it may be possible also in the future to obtain further successful results in this direction, and by dint of assistance from all sides to solve this burning question of the day, viz. that of social reform, so far that the ground may thus be gradually cut away from under the feet of revolutionary Socialism.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE best comment on this rather untimely jubilation over the success, actual and prospective, of the Socialist law, is furnished by the results of the last elections. In 1881 the total of the votes cast for Socialist deputies to the Reichstag amounted to 312,000, in 1884 to 700,000, more than double the number of the former year; while the number of deputies was increased from twelve to twenty-four. On this increase, Carl Frohme, in an article in *The Day* for December, 1884, remarks: "If this rate of increase were to be maintained, within fifteen years the Social Democrats would be in an overwhelming majority in Germany. We may expect, however, that the rate of increase will accelerate." So much for disheartenment. We subjoin a further extract from the same article, because it brings into relief the essential injustice of the "Exceptional Law" so much belauded by our author. "Since 1878, the Social Democrats in Germany have been harassed by an infamous Coercion Act. Berlin, Hamburg, Altona (for which latter town Herr Frohme is deputy), have been under a minor state of siege, and the police have expelled many hundreds of our party from these districts. In most constituencies our meetings have been proclaimed and our handbills seized under the powers given by this Act to the police, who have triumphantly posed as the guardians of public order. Meanwhile the opponents of Social Democracy have been free to valiantly slander their gagged antagonists and to dose the electorate with their doctrines

under official and influential patronage—with this result. Three years Social Democrat polled an absolute majority at the first ballot; the twelve took their seats after a second ballot. This year" (1884), "on the 1st of October, the first ballot secured nine Socialists their seats. In the second under a minor state of siege, there were elected:—in Berlin (IV.) Sir Hamburg (I.) Bebel, in Hamburg (II.) Dietz, in Altona Frohme, in (rural district) Viereck. . . . I have already hinted at the calumnies cast against Social Democracy. In this form of electioneering the National Liberals excelled all other. In many constituencies, especially in Middle and Germany, manifestoes were issued by these mud-slinging patriots. It is difficult to give specimens of their style to our party in other countries. In one very two-edged title of 'Masks off!' National Liberal fanaticism revels in bringing together passages of the *Sozialdemokrat*, torn from their contexts, scraps of Most's *Freiheit*, and the Social Democrats are described as a pack of criminals and murderers whose sole object is to 'remove' all their opponents and Social Democracy as a ravening wolf, 'crouching for a spring on the civil society, Church, and religion,' against which the only safeguard is the election of National Liberals. Another passage runs:—

"Our Fatherland has been cemented by the blood of its sons. With scenes in our memory, it is our solemn duty to maintain the inestimable heritage they have won for us. There is amongst us a much more dangerous enemy, undermining all that is holy, degrading all that is beautiful, and all that is vile. The names of the murderers Hödel, Nobiling, Stell Kummerer, Schenk, and Schloosareck are blazoned on the flag of the Social Democrats, who are not ashamed of owning publicly that their work is done through blood and carnage. The atrocities of Schenk, who murdered harmless people, are vaunted by them as glorious exploits. . . . We shall fall as victims to the bloodthirstiness of these wretches if we do not raise our ranks, to crush them out by united and energetic action. The results of the Sick Funds Act, the insurance against accidents and diseases, and vision in old age, are ridiculed. They intend to prevent the working class from bettering their position in a peaceful way, in order to lead them through blood and riot to the revolution, where you, farmer, you, tradesman, you, tool of these scoundrels, will be their victim.'

"One might be tempted to look only at the comical side of these disquisitions. But that would be a mistake. *There is method in this madness!* It was not without purpose that the National Liberals thrust their stink-pot among the people the very day before the second ballots, and when a reply was not possible. In spite of all his madness, the pamphlet is clever enough to speculate on the effect which his effusion would have on the great number of people incapable of reasoning and ignorant of the nature of things.

"With such dirty and foul means the National Liberals have forced the Conservatives and Catholics did not act very much better, and in consequence have been condemned by all sensible and decent men.

"It is interesting and instructive as well to observe the difference of opinion existing in the different camps as to the successes obtained by the Socialists. The Progressists say, 'That is the reply to the Anti-Socialist Act.' An out-and-out Progressist, Deputy Barth, writes in his journal, the *Nation*, as follows :—'A serious defeat of the upholders of the principle of the existing order of society—that is the result of the elections. We Liberals have lost the battle ; the policy of Socialist promises has been victorious. It did not require much acuteness to discern the immense difficulties of our political position, wedged in between the masses, discontented with their economical position, and a Government which recognises as justified the "kernel" of this discontent, and which continually accuses previous legislation, in fact their predecessors in office, of having neglected their duties towards the discontented. State Socialism has given to Social Democracy that which in all times has given the greatest impetus to revolutionary movements—the acknowledgment of the essential justice of the movement. That the power of the State was at the same time directed against the ugly shell, enclosing the justifiable "kernel" of Social Democratic teachings, has only contributed to foment in the movement the sense of social injustice. The policy of the Chancellor may now show how far he is able to fulfil the hopes he has raised. That the performances will fall immensely short of the expectations of the masses infected with Socialism, and that they will be exploited by the Social Democratic leaders with increasing success as small instalments of the Socialist demands, and also as concessions to the Social Democratic teachings, I do not doubt in the least. Finally, however, even the most reckless statesman will have to put a stop to his concessions to Socialism, and then we shall see whether the structure of the State is strong enough to withstand the disappointment of the greed that has been roused. Every step forward on the Socialist path makes a halt more difficult.'

"This opinion is in some points correct. The Imperial Government will not be able to shelve the question of social reform ; Social Democracy will be led by the logic of events, and will force the State to grant larger and larger concessions.

"Somewhat amusing are the effusions of the Catholic *Cologne People's Gazette*. It states with great satisfaction that with the single exception of Mayence all the constituencies seriously contested by the Social Democrats were *Protestant districts* ; against the Social Democratic storm-tide directed against the constitutional parties of all shades, the Ultramontane party, with the Catholic workmen, has stood like 'a rock in the sea.' After that the pious print puts forward this nonsense :

"Bebel's new gospel of a life with little work and much pleasure, in contrast to the Biblical, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," sounds certainly tempting enough to the ears of poor Catholic workmen ; but the great majority of them have common-sense enough to see that the dreams of the future Social Democratic State are bubbles, and that an attempt to realize them could only be made by a physical force revolution, and they have religious faith and Christian morality enough to turn away with disgust from the godlessness of

Social Democracy. But let the progress which Social Democracy has made of late, even in the Catholic districts, be a solemn warning to all whom it may concern, clergy and laity, to carefully nurse and foster the good spirit which still exists in a great part of the Catholic working class ! Let them care for the spiritual and material well-being of the workmen and other families, very often in very needy circumstances, with zeal and self-sacrifice, and especially let them oppose to the so-called Socialist propaganda the Christian-Socialist Workmen's Associations.' The praise given to the 'Catholic workmen' must leave a tragic-comical effect on those acquainted with the state of affairs. If the Catholic workman goes with the priestly party, he does so simply because the miserable priestly education has never allowed any spark of intelligence to develop within him ; he follows blindfold the commands of the 'black constabulary,' and this obedience of stupidity and ignorance these pious gentlemen call 'horror of the godlessness of Social Democracy.'

Scarcely less edifying from another point of view and as a rejoinder from the Party of Progress to the hopes expressed by Dr. Zachar that the Bismarckian reforms will cut the ground from under the feet of the Socialist agitators is the following extract from the strictly *laissez-faire* *Weser Zeitung*, published in Bremen :—'The responsibility for the results of the elections rests solely with the representatives of the "social policy." The gravest warnings have been left unheeded. The adherents of the social policy in the press have sown discontent with the existing economical institutions ; they have been preaching that with free competition only a few could obtain and enjoy the happy results of civilization, that the State had hitherto never fulfilled its duty of protecting the feeble, that henceforth the fulfilment of their duty ought to be demanded. Not in vain have the destitute masses, who make up four-fifths of the nation, been taught that only the self-seeking Liberals opposed the demands for security of existence against the economical disadvantages of accidents, old age, illness, and want of employment. Not in vain has it been preached at all street-corners that the system of self-help was the war of all against all, in which "the drones flourish at the expense of the working bees," and in which the old workmen perish by the wayside. The seed has taken root. The masses are joining hands and organizing themselves, without committing the blunder of foolish pronouncements, to lift from its hinges the whole old order of things.'

"Thus the Bremen paper. It is true all that has not been preached to 'no purpose,' but certainly not without cause Social Democrats may proudly claim that it was they who in alliance with facts forced Government and the ruling classes in Germany to acknowledge the necessity of social reforms. Things have come about as Social Democrats have predicted ; their principles and demands are more and more justified as the facts are better understood. Thus, and by no other means, it is possible to understand why Social Democracy is indestructible, why no Coercion Act could check its rising tide. The social policy of the Government is very innocent of the electoral successes of Social Democracy ; in Germany the mass of the population knows very well what the Social Democrats think of this kind of social reforms. The last Congress of

the German Social Democrats, held in 1883 in Copenhagen, has defined openly its position with regard to the social reform of the Imperial Government, and has declared that the so-called 'social reform' *was only a means to lead the working men off the right path.* We may safely say that the success of the Social Democrats means a defeat of the *laissez-faire* party as well as a defeat of the Imperial Government. The 550,000 votes cast on the 28th October for the Social Democrats, and cast by the intelligent working class of the large towns and industrial centres, are a protest against the one as well as the other.

"The most prominent paper of the National Liberals, the *Cologne Gazette*, consoles its readers in every original style, trying to minimize the 'indisputable successes' of the Social Democrats. The same paper, which a day before the elections was calling upon the Government to apply the anti-Socialist law with the greatest rigour, now comes out as follows:—'The one feature which is comforting, and in a certain sense even satisfactory, in the increase of Socialist votes and seats held by Social Democrats, is that unmistakably the idea has found favour with the Social Democrats that they must be national before everything else, that they can secure welfare and happiness only by co-operating in positive legislation with the efforts of the Government and the national parties. We do not hesitate to say that we think twenty Social Democrats in the Reichstag in a certain sense a lesser evil, if an evil at all, than five. As they are brought to co-operate with others, and, on the ground of the great number of voters they represent, can claim a serious consideration of the conditions to which they owe their election, the violent struggling against the powers that be will cease, and its place be taken by a recognition of the necessity of obtaining positive reforms by the aid of these powers. And we are glad to see that the Socialist party almost everywhere recognises that the National Liberals are much nearer to them than the Progressists. By declaring their readiness for social reform the National Liberals have recognised that the Socialist movement is justified in so far as it goes for reform, not revolution; whereas the Progressists might perhaps be willing to abolish the Anti-Socialist Act to spite the Government, but would oppose not only the revolutionary tendencies, but also the position and rightful claims of Social Democracy, allowing the police cutlass and the struggle for existence, the natural law of the extinction of the weakest, to settle these questions. The idea is perfectly right—and the more thoughtful Social Democrats see it—that their better friends in Parliament do not sit on the Radical benches next to them, but further on to the right, where social reforms are favourably regarded.'

"All the German papers which are not National Liberal ridicule this sermon, which apparently had no other purpose but to get the Social Democratic voters of Cologne to vote for the National Liberal candidate. Miracles would have to happen before the Social Democratic members would look to the 'right' side of the house for friends. They know no friendship but with their own cause."

FRANCE.



AMONG all countries outside Germany, France took the first place in the Socialist movement there that Socialism put forth its first manifold blossoms, and it was there that attempts were made to put its theory into practice.

Since the time when the "Great Revolution" had proclaimed the principle of equality, the most various and often conflicting systems cropped up—from Babeuf down to Louis Blanc—all concerned themselves with the solution of this problem. At length the "International" threw them all into the shade and even went so far as to endeavour to demonstrate the practicability of its system to collective Europe. It is easy to understand how the "International" met with an astonishing extension on a soil so prepared for its reception; and probably in reliance on these successes and the special favourable situation, presented in the year 1871, for the realization of its plans, that it brought the Paris insurrection on the scene. The events, the publications of its "General Council" at the time, afterwards scarcely leave a doubt as to its co-operation. The Parisian Commune was intended to furnish the stage for the future organization of social political life in all countries.*

* It is suggestive that our author has no word of commendation for the admirable moderation shown by the leaders of the Paris Commune, during the three months, according to the testimony of an English clergyman, that the city better than it had ever been governed before, or of condemnation of the ferocious and sanguinary brutality with which it was suppressed. He wonders that French Socialists threaten much more drastic measures if they get the upper hand.

A similar attempt in Lyons (on the 28th of September, 1871), in which, among others, the Russian Nihilist Bakunin was concerned, was, as we know, smothered in the germ. These events led to the promulgation of a special enactment (of the 14th of March, 1872), according to which every international association, having for its object incitement to strikes, abolition of property, of the family, of patriotism and religion, was forbidden, and any participation in such an association was threatened with fine and with imprisonment extending to five years.

In spite of this the movement of the workers, although at the outset on another basis, very soon became again observable, a result to which the International Exhibitions in Vienna, Philadelphia, and Paris, following close on one another, and attended by delegates deputed by the entire working population of Paris, in an eminent degree contributed.

From considerations of prudence, the movement was confined, to begin with, to a purely Trades Union basis, in order not to endanger the reorganization by premature interference on the part of the authorities.

The same character was still preserved also by the first General Congress of French Workmen, which sat in Paris from the 2nd to the 10th of October, 1876, at which already seventy unions and twenty-eight workmen's clubs, from thirty-nine towns, with a stated membership of a million workers, were represented by more than eight hundred delegates. At the opening of the Congress it was expressly insisted on that not principles of social politics, but the purely economical and practical interests of the working men, would engage the meetings, and the resolutions were framed accordingly, viz., the unhindered and most extensive development of Trades Unions (*Chambres Syndicales*) was demanded, involving the abolition of all legal limitations and the granting of personal legitimation, the recognition of complete autonomy in all questions affecting the workers, especially as regarded Co-operative Associations (for credit, production, and consumption), provident funds for sickness, accidents, want of work, and superannuation, technical instruction (schools of apprenticeship and industrial training), and the combination of all *Trade Councils* in one "Union Nationale," for the purpose of

securing the representation of the collective interests of the French working class (by the introduction of the normal working day, reform of the factory system in regard to women's, children's, and night work, inspection, etc., modification of the system of arbitration for the avoidance, where possible, of strikes, and so forth).

All the same, the ideas of the International could not be permanently disavowed. Already at the next General Congress of Workers, which was held from the 28th January to the 8th February, at Lyons, in 1878, reference was made to the necessity of a direct representation of the Proletariat in Parliament, and a resolution was moved in favour of the establishment of collective ownership of all the means of production, which was finally rejected, rather from considerations of expediency, than on grounds of principle. When afterwards the Paris International Exhibition caused a concourse of the most diverse nationalities in that city, it was thought possible to attempt an international congress of workers. In spite of the prohibition of the Government, it met on the 5th of September, 1878, in a private dwelling, but was at once dissolved, and the native delegates got sentences of several months' imprisonment, while the foreign participators were ordered out of the country, among them the Jewish writer Carl Hirsch, on whom was found a voluminous correspondence with the then leaders of Social Democracy in Germany.

The following year (1879) brought conditions along with it which were exceedingly favourable to these efforts. A large number of the amnestied Communards, and among them several prominent leaders of the old "International," returned to France, and when the commercial crisis only artificially deferred by the Exhibition broke out, and caused general excitement and discontent among the labouring masses, the agitation which the Communards in the extremest fashion developed for the spread of their former subversive ideas, both by speech and writing, found an excessively receptive soil ready for it. From this twofold influence the next Workers' Congress, which sat from the 20th to the 31st of October, 1879, at Marseilles, attended by one *hundred and thirty* delegates, could not keep aloof. The *fundamental principles* of the International came clearly out, and this

congress may, therefore, be regarded as the turning point in the more recent movement of the French labouring classes. It is true the Government had obtained the assurance that all questions of a political and international character were to be excluded from discussion ; nevertheless the resolutions and the numerous addresses coming in from abroad, with the replies sent to them, showed how little this undertaking was observed.

For the most part the Congress contented itself for the present with settling the fundamental ideas of programme, organization, and action, and leaving the definition of details to its successors. The former, however, were founded entirely on the ground of the "International," for as the goal of endeavour the emancipation of the Fourth Estate and the establishment of collective ownership in all the means of production were proclaimed, and it was, therefore, resolved to organize the entire working class in six different districts (in the centre Paris, in the north Lille, in the west Bordeaux, in the south Marseilles, in Algeria Algiers) into a compact mass, in order, with universal suffrage as a basis of operations, by means of a class policy hostile to that of all other parties, or in case of need by force, to attain the end in view. It is true that no inconsiderable opposition asserted itself, revealing already the germs of the three main tendencies into which the party subsequently split up.

On the right wing stood the advocates of the programme laid down at the first Parisian Congress ; they held fast in the main to the present system, because they believed themselves able adequately to reform it by means of the co-operative system, with or without State aid. They were accordingly designated in contradistinction to the "Collectivists" as "Co-operatists," or also as "Opportunists," because they sought to forward their interests as far as possible by bargaining with the Radical political parties.

On the left wing, upon the other hand, various voices were heard on the part of those for whom the resolutions passed were not thorough-going enough by a long way. They demanded the abolition of all private property as well in the means of production as those of consumption, and would have nothing whatever to say to any experiments with universal suffrage. They, there-

fore, received the designation of "Communists" or "Anarchists." Speaking generally, this element controls chiefly the south, and is recruited from several small groups in the large centres of industry, while the Opportunist party, with the mass of the Trades Unions, rather occupies the north. On the other hand, the Collectivists, who are composed partly of Trades Unionists and partly of purely Socialistic clubs (*cercles d'études sociales*), have their main strength in Paris and in the middle of France. In particular the legislative elections of 1881 contributed to mark these divisions, though at the same time a definite demarcation of the several parties, in respect either of time or place, is, of course, impracticable.

Since the next year's Congress (held at Havre from the 14th to 22nd of November, 1880) was entrusted with the elaboration of the programme, and this turned out entirely in the sense of the thorough-going resolutions of the Congress of Marseilles, the immediate result was the open defection of the right wing, which formed itself into an "Alliance Socialiste Républicaine," at once began to hold its own congresses (1881 in Paris from November 27th to December 5th and 1882 in Bordeaux from the 3rd to the 12th of September), continued to move on exclusively in the direction indicated above, and made propaganda for its views in its official organs *La Ville de Paris* and *Le Moniteur des Syndicats Ouvriers*, and in numerous Radical journals, such as *La Justice*, *L'Intransigeant*, and others, and for the most part only held together by means of this intellectual bond. The programme of the Collectivists, who retained on their side the larger half of the hundred and nineteen delegates who put in an appearance, may here be reproduced word for word, since it is interesting in more than one respect. It proceeds, as regards the main outlines of its form, from Marx and Engels, in its essential and fundamental features agrees with the programme adopted by the Social Democracy of Germany at Gotha, and forms the basis of the present Socialist movement in France, the objects of which it sets forth in a short and precise form. It has also been subsequently adopted in the main by the Socialists of Italy and Spain.

It is as follows :—

Considering that the emancipation of the working classes is

that of all humanity without distinction of sex or descent ; that the working class will only be free when it is put in possession of the means of production ; that there are two forms under which the means of production may belong to it : first, the individual form, which as a general condition never existed, and by the progress of industry, is constantly disappearing ; secondly, the collective form, the material or intellectual elements of which have been spontaneously created by the development of the Capitalistic Society.

Considering that the collective seizure can only be brought about by a revolutionary act by the Proletariat class, organized as an independent political party ; that such an organization must be formed by all means at the command of the Proletariat, among which is to be reckoned also that of universal suffrage, which, instead of an instrument of deceptions, as hitherto, must be transformed in a means of emancipation—the Socialist workers of France have resolved, since, in so far as economics are concerned, they propose as the object of their efforts the transference of all the instruments of labour to the possession of the community, to take part in the elections with the following programme as representing the minimum of their demands :—

A. Political Programme.

1. Abolition of all laws relating to the press, associations, and meetings, and particularly of the law against the International Working Men's Association. Abolition of the "work-books," this degradation of the working class, as well as the abrogation of all paragraphs in the statutes which represent the labourer in relation to his employer as possessed of inferior rights.
2. Abolition of the Budget of Public Worship, and restoration of real and movable property belonging to the religious corporations, the so-called "dead hand," including industrial and commercial establishments of these corporations, to the national possessions. (Resolution of the Commune of the 2nd of April, 1871.)
3. Universal arming of the people.
4. Independence of the municipalities in affairs of police and local management

B. Economic Programme.

1. One day of rest in the week under legal regulation, providing that the employer may not cause work to be done more than six days out of seven.

Legal limitation of the working day to eight hours for adults. Prohibition of children's labour in private workshops under fourteen years of age, and limitation of the hours of work to six for the ages of fourteen to eighteen.
2. Minimal wage to be legally fixed, the amount to be determined afresh each year in accordance with the price of provisions.
3. Equality of wages for male and female labour.
4. Scientific and technical training for all children, as well as their support at the expense of society as represented by the State and the municipalities.
5. Support of the aged and incapable by society.
6. Prohibition of any interference by employers in the management of relief and support funds of the working classes, to whom alone the management of their funds is to be left.
7. Employers' liability in case of accident, guaranteed by a deposit to be paid by the employer proportionate to the number of the workers employed and the danger of the industry in question.
8. Participation of the workers in drawing up factory regulations. Abolition of the employer's claim to punish the labourer by way of fine or withholding his wages. (Resolution of the Commune of 27th April, 1871.)
9. Revision of all agreements by which public property has been alienated (banks, railways, mines, etc.); the exploitation of all State factories to be remitted to the workers employed therein.
10. Abolition of all indirect taxes, and change of all direct ones into a cumulative income tax on all incomes above 3,000 francs.
11. Abolition of the right of inheritance except in the line of direct descent, and of the latter in the case of fortunes above 20,000 francs.

The next following Congress of the Collectivists, or, as they officially called themselves, of the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire Français (Social Revolutionary French Workmen's Party), was devoted to elaborating the organization, and gave occasion accordingly to the separation of the left wing, since the Anarchists, in conformity with their principles, rejected every sort of binding party discipline. There were about three hundred Trades Unions and Socialistic groups represented by forty-five delegates, who sat at Rheims from 30th October to 5th November, 1881. The regulations resulting from the deliberations provided that the organization of the party, answering to that of the unions, should be arranged locally, regionally, and nationally, in conformity with the six districts marked out at the Congress of Marseilles, and that these several associations should receive their deliberative and executive functionaries at the respective conferences, congresses, or committees, as the case might be. Special stress was laid upon the national committee which was appointed to represent the party at home and abroad. It was to be composed of five delegates from each of the six districts and of one delegate from each of the nationally organized Trades Unions, should sit in Paris and maintain the connection between the several associations and foreign countries at all times, and should undertake the summoning, conduct, and management of the national congresses. In other respects no kind of initiative was allowed to it, the several local and regional associations being limited in their autonomy only by the observance of the general principles of the programme and bye-laws of the party. Its official organ was declared to be the Parisian weekly paper *Le Proletaire*. Programme and bye-laws thus settled, it remained for the Congress in St. Etienne (from 24th September to 1st October, 1882) to define the plan of action, and at the same time to attempt an arrangement of the internal dissensions, which had led already to the exclusion of a minority at the Paris Regional Congress (13th to 21st May) under the leadership of the writers Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue, a son-in-law of Karl Marx. The latter saw, be it remembered, in participation in elections, simply a means of revolutionary propaganda, and accordingly would admit, along with the official programme of the party, no kind of programmes beside, inclined

generally to a more centralising organization, in order to be able at the proper time to have an effective number of followers at their disposal, and endeavoured to make good their views in a journal of their own, *Égalité*. The leaders of the majority, on the other hand, seemed disposed to attain practical results as well from the political action of the party, and therefore allowed, in place of the "Minimal Programme," the drawing up of separate programmes suited to each locality, provided this could be done without sacrifice of the principles of the party, and duly appraising the French individuality of thought, set themselves against a strict centralisation. The first occasion for an open outbreak of dissension was furnished as early as the end of 1881 by the programme in virtue of which the Communard Joffrin, an engineer, was chosen member of the Paris Town Council. However, these disagreements were to be referred rather to personal squabbles among the leaders, than to real differences of principle, as the chief leader of the majority, the well-known Socialist writer and Communard Benoit Malons, himself allowed in a letter to the Socialist party in Italy. At once, at the first sitting of the Congress, matters came to an open breach instead of to the hoped-for reconciliation. The dissentients were expelled from the "Party of the Workers" by a considerable majority of votes, on the ground of injuring and endangering the discipline of the party, and now, on their part, repaired, with a following of twenty-seven delegates, representing thirty-seven groups, to Roanne, in order there to hold a congress of their own, the resolutions passed by which were framed in the sense indicated above.

They were unable, however, to attain to any vitality, had to let the *Égalité* drop, and appeared, when shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1883, their two leaders were each condemned to six months' imprisonment for incitement to murder, arson, and pillage, to be on the way to a complete dissolution. It is only lately, since Guesde and Lafargue have again taken up the leadership, and enjoy the full sympathy and support of the Social Democracy of Germany, that they have succeeded in reorganizing their followers to such an extent that a congress of the party has already been summoned at Roubaix for the 29th of March,

1884,* and the subsequent holding of an "international" congress in Paris is contemplated, which, according to the resolutions passed at that of Chur (2nd to 4th October, 1881), should have taken place already before the close of the year 1883, but had not come off owing to the quarrels in the French party.

The majority, thirty-six delegates, as representing four hundred and one trade councils and Socialistic clubs (the centre with one hundred and twelve, the south with seventy-seven, the east with seventy, the north with forty-one, the west with twenty-one, Algiers with twenty, and sixty clubs not belonging to the party), continued to sit at St. Etienne, and among their most remarkable resolutions was the fact that special attention was directed to the unions and strikes, as the best means of giving the masses a preliminary education and to develop the class consciousness, and at the same time they made an effort to gain the upper hand in town councils and the State, in order to bring the social revolutionary programme into practice at the outset by legal methods, but in case of necessity by force.

Although the Party of the Workers represents even to-day the bulk of the Socialistic workers, yet their organization appears in consequence of internal squabbles to have suffered not inconsiderably, so that at times the very existence of the paper of the party seemed to be imperilled, while its circulation was not a little injured by the numerous local papers.

Precisely this marked individuality it is which forms the chief reason why French Socialism is still so far behind that of Germany in capacity for action. Every little group claims, if possible, its own programme, its own bye-laws, its own tactics, its own organ, its own candidates at elections, regards its views as the only right ones, and attempts to force them upon the other groups. In this manner, however, the party, in order to gratify all shades of opinion, is led so to divide its activities that successful co-operation becomes impossible. So, for example, the last Regional Congress of Paris (held 13th to 21st May, 1883), which, by the way, emphatically refused the social and political

* This congress was attended by E. B. Bax and H. Quelch as delegates from the Social Democratic Federation in London. The German Socialists were unable to attend, but sent salutations.

reforms proposed by the Government—viz., the formation of co-operative societies of workers, with leave to undertake public works, compulsory insurance against illness, accidents, infirmity, etc.—treated of the attainment of public power by means of the conversion of private monopolies into enterprises carried on by the State, of the erection of artisans' dwellings at the public expense, to be let at a rent to cover the cost of building and the taxing of unlet dwellings, of the introduction of the normal working day of eight hours with a fixed minimum wage and the abolition of payment by piece-work, of the freedom of association, of the incorporation of the syndical chambers, the institution of societies of industrial production, insurance for workers, international unions with regard to the state of production, immigration of foreign labourers and the competition arising therefrom, creation of new markets, reorganization of the system of consulates and of commercial treaties, nationalization of the land, etc. At the same time an immense number of the most conflicting views were brought forward, which were to be examined and sifted at the National Congress fixed for the autumn.

This congress assembled in Paris on the 30th of September, 1883, it sat in the presence of one hundred and sixteen delegates, most of whom, it is true, resided in Paris, until the 7th of October, and while completely ignoring the social and political reforms proposed, treated of a few of the above-mentioned questions that appeared to it specially important. This referred in particular to the immigration of foreign labourers and the competition caused thereby. As a principle it was agreed that the labourers should enjoy the most perfect freedom in moving from one country into another, and consequently that all laws which opposed this should be abolished; on the other hand, however, it was demanded that severe penalties should be fixed to prevent foreign labourers from being hired and employed at a lower rate of wages than the natives. Next the introduction of a normal working day of eight hours, with one day of rest a week, was recognised as absolutely necessary; further it was declared to be the urgent duty of all adherents to the party on their part to become members of the respective *Trades Unions*, or where such did not yet exist to use all their *energy in founding them*, and among other things—in order to

make the more hesitating in the provinces more inclined to join the party—the revolutionary title formerly employed was exchanged for the less repelling one “*Fédération des Travailleurs Socialistes de France*” (Union of the French Socialist Working Men).

Moreover, it was said that latterly the way had been paved for an amalgamation of the “*Alliance Socialiste Républicaine*” and the “*Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire*,” in order to gain the interest of the working men’s movement for those social and political schemes of reform ; however, up to the present time the only result of these attempts seems to have been that recently, on the proposal of the Radical deputy Clémenceau, who, with the *littérateur* Longuet, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, is considered as the chief leader of the Alliance, a parliamentary commission on the then existing industrial crisis was appointed, at which as a special feature representatives of the above-mentioned parties should also be heard. The members of the “*Workmen’s Party*” not long ago were estimated in Paris at 20,000, and in the whole of France from 100,000 to 200,000, who were divided among six hundred Trades Unions and Socialist societies. In the Chamber for some time they were represented by the deputy from Marseilles, Clovis Hugues, while about half the members of the “*Extreme Left*” are considered as representatives of the “*Alliance*.” In the Paris Town Council the “*Working Men’s Party*” is represented by the already mentioned mechanic Joffrin, and the “*Alliance*” by six of its members. That the Socialists in this regard can show such small success only confirms the statement above made.

Among the “*Anarchists*,” two opposite tendencies at once became visible. While one section, logically following out the Anarchist principle, would have nothing whatever to do with any infringement of the liberty of the individual, the so-called “*authoritative*” Anarchists, or “*Blanquists*,” as the followers of the late Social Revolutionist Blanqui are generally called, could not escape from the conviction that without an organization of the members, however loose it might be, no effective and united action was possible. The first incentive to the practical execution of this idea was afforded by the International Revolutionary Congress in London (14th to 19th of July, 1881), in anticipation of which

consultations had been held in Paris in April, 1881, and for which, therefore, the interest of the Anarchists of Paris was all the more lively. They showed this by sending a large number of delegates, and when these returned they developed in Paris, and especially in the great centres of industry in the south of France, an extremely energetic agitation. In consequence of this they constituted in Paris a "Ligue Révolutionnaire Internationale," which kept up close connection with London, while in the south arose the "Fédération Lyonnaise" and "Stephanoise," which, on their part, became connected with the "Fédération Jurassienne," domiciled in Geneva, and took active part in their congresses and endeavours. It is true that in Paris, where the Working Men's Party is most powerful, the League could obtain only a few hundred members, and could support no organ of its own, and therefore the attempt was made, just as all Radicals under the flag of Government reform seek to unite themselves into a "Reform League," in the same way to combine all revolutionary elements in a "league for the abolition of the standing army by means of the establishment of a national citizen force." For this particular purpose also a special paper, *Le Républicain Socialiste*, was founded.

On the other hand, the two other societies, especially after the Russian Nihilist Prince Krapotkin took the leadership, and cleverly turned to account the disputes arising in the "Working Men's Party" at the Congress of St. Etienne, spread with surprising quickness at Lyons, St. Etienne, Narbonne, Nîmes, Bordeaux, and other places, so that, according to Krapotkin's own account, in the space of one year they numbered about 8,000 members, and in Lyons issued an official organ of their party, which, on account of the numerous penalties inflicted on it, appeared under continually changing titles, as *Droit Social*, *Etendard Révolutionnaire*, *Lutte*, *Drapeau Noir*, *Défi*, and *Hydre Anarchiste*. Since the great trial of Anarchists in Lyons (January, 1883) it seems, however, that a certain reaction has taken place, the chief leaders having been imprisoned.

In addition to these indigenous elements, Paris supplies a place of meeting for revolutionists of diverse nationalities, especially Russians, Poles, Czechs, Italians, Belgians, and G

mans are well represented. These formerly showed a great activity, but in consequence of the numerous expulsions that have taken place lately, have become somewhat timid, and have been driven into the background.

The movement in Germany is furthered especially by the "Deutsche Verein," which, at the end of 1878, was founded by some Germans who had been expelled from Berlin, and a year later, through the personal influence of Most, divided into a Radical and a so-called moderate section. The first entered into close connection with Germans holding similar opinions in Brussels, London, and Geneva, protested against the validity of the decisions of the Congress of Wyden (20th to 23rd of August, 1880), according to which Most was expelled from the German Socialist party, and took part in all the demonstrations of the French Anarchist. At the present time it is said that, in consequence of the expulsions, it has dwindled down into an insignificant number. The moderate party, on the other hand, rejoices in a considerable number of members; as before, it is in active connection with the leaders of the German party, especially with the deputy to the Reichstag Von Vollmar, who, on several occasions, stayed in Paris. It seeks to show its interest for the movement in Germany, according to its means, by contributions in money to the *Sozialdemocrat*, support funds, strikes, etc., and by sending delegates to the congresses of the party in Germany; and it is also connected with the French Working Men's Party, since all its more important members belong to the "Cercle Internationale." This circle was founded in the summer of 1882 by the *élite* of the Socialists of Paris; it already contains several sections corresponding to the different nationalities, for instance a French, English, German, Austrian, and Russian section; and, as in the case of the General Council of the International in its time, its chief object is to promote the international relations between the Socialist parties of the different countries, and especially to oppose, among the working men of Paris, the feelings of hostility which had been stirred up against their German competitors. To this end it has obtained, in the different countries, particularly in Germany, special correspondents; it has also, at several times, addressed to all the workers of Europe

manifestoes, in which, in the presence of the reactionary coalition of all Governments, the necessity of a revolutionary coalition of the whole Proletariat was pointed out, and even lately it took much trouble to call together in the autumn of 1883, at Paris, an "International Congress of Socialists," which, however, as already mentioned, failed on account of the internal dissensions of the Working Men's Party and a certain dislike of the Germans. Instead of this, as may be still remembered from the daily press, on the 29th of October, 1883, a so-called "International Conference" was held at Paris, at which, besides the French Working Men's Parties and the English Trades Unions, only the Italian and the Spanish Socialists were represented, each by one delegate, and whose transactions, which lasted for several days (until the 2nd of November, 1883), under the predominating influence of the English delegates, were turned principally to a somewhat academical discussion of the question how far, by preparing a system of international legislation and a permanent international union between the combinations of the workers of all industrial States, a tolerable existence could be secured for the workers of all nations.

Now as regards the Socialist movement as a whole in France, it must arouse most unusual anxiety, not only because it is spread over the whole country, of which the party press cropping up everywhere, which, moreover, finds in most of the Radical journals more or less powerful support, gives a convincing testimony, but it has also assumed so revolutionary and violent a character as, with the exception of the peculiar movement in Russia, in no other country of the continent. This is all the more important as the movement is concentrated on the politically most important centres, like Paris and Lyons. There can, however, be little doubt that its development in this direction has been considerably influenced and hastened by the above-mentioned agitation of the amnestied Communists. Just like mushrooms out of the ground, there multiplied the red leaflets, which were filled with the most violent hatred of government, bourgeoisie, and the existing order, and instigated at every opportunity to acts of violence, and the whole country was flooded by travelling agitators who attempted to outbid each other

in thoroughness and to incite the masses with inflammatory language.

We need mention here only single names, such as Pyat, Eudes, Gautier, Digeon, Louise Michel, Paula Minck, as even in many cases the titles of the papers indicated pretty clearly the nature of their contents, for instance *La Révolution Sociale* (in the management of which Most and Hasselmann, at that time deputies to the Reichstag, co-operated), *La Commune*, *La République Sociale*, *Ni Dieu—ni Maître*, *Réveil Social*, *Émancipation*, *Proletaire*, *Égalité*, etc. Yet, to give an approximate representation of the character of this agitation, we may verbally reproduce a few of the choicest passages from the writings and speeches of this kind. For instance, after the attempt of Otero on the life of the King of Spain, the *Mot d'Ordre* declared "that the best means of abolishing regicide was to abolish the kings themselves," to which *Voltaire* cynically replied "that the removal of kings by violence was by no means necessary, for they would soon die out from exhaustion and sterility; therefore the few remaining ones were to be treated carefully, so that at least one or two might be left to exhibit at fairs." In the same way the attempt at Petersburg gave an opportunity for an extravagant glorification of regicide, and among others Eudes exclaimed in a meeting attended by thousands, in which the murderer Ryssakow was chosen honorary president: "If the tyrants unite to oppress the people, they must unite to annihilate the tyrants, the kings, and even the bourgeois." But how this was to be carried out, numerous placards, distributed during the night in different cities, gave the necessary explanation. There one might read, for instance: "Workers, let us use the means which science offers, and in the employment of which Nihilists and Fenians are our example. It is a humane action to put to death the exploiters and assassins of the people." Different papers also, such as the *Droit Social* of Lyons, gave elaborate instructions on the preparation and employment of dynamite, nitro-glycerine, and other explosives, and unceasingly incited to murder, pillage, and arson. Notwithstanding no serious obstacle was put in the way of this agitation, for the isolated convictions of a few editors and the various expulsions of foreign

agitators could have little effect, all the less so since the movement in France was carried on chiefly by inhabitants of the country. The results of this *laissez-aller* soon became apparent, since with an excitable nation like the French, the step from thought to action is not great. The first occasion was given by the extensive strikes which broke out at the beginning of 1882 in Roanne, Bessèges, Molières, and other centres of industry in the south of France, and, as usual, served the revolutionists as a welcome and fertile field for agitation. The pistol-shot which the labourer Tournier fired at his employer in the open street, as in its time that which Vera Sassulitsch fired in Russia, to a certain extent gave the signal for the subsequent acts of violence. As Tournier's act was unanimously applauded by the whole revolutionary press, and in Lyons a subscription was actually started for the honorary presentation of a revolver, the party became still bolder and planned for the national festival on the 14th of July, 1882, in Paris, a great demonstration, for whose preparation several revolutionists came from London. But as on the appointed day a review of the troops took place, the matter was postponed for a time, and they contented themselves with the distribution of a manifesto, expressed in the most inflammatory language, addressed to the "Slaves of Capital" and concluding with the words, "No festivals! Death to the employers! Long live the social revolution!"

In the autumn the well-known disturbances broke out in Montceau-les-Mines and Lyons, where acts of violence were already going on on a large scale with the employment of dynamite. In March, 1883, there followed the demonstrations of the "Unemployed" in the streets of Paris, which were attended by thousands, and resulted in plundering bakers' shops, in throwing bombs, and other excesses. On the 14th of July, 1883, bloody encounters took place with the soldiers at Roubaix and a few other places, where the people had been stirred up against the bourgeoisie, "who were enjoying festivities, while they had condemned Louise Michel, the champion of the Proletariat, to a cruel imprisonment." These events following comparatively quickly on each other, at last determined the Government to take more active steps, and to trace the real leaders of the growing Anarchist movement. Th

however, was unsuccessful in the first trial which had been instituted on account of the disturbances at Montceau, so that of the fourteen accused only nine, from secondary reasons, could be condemned to imprisonment from one to five years. On the other hand, in the trial at Lyons, which lasted for eleven days, until the 19th of January, 1883, the chief leaders, such as Krapotkin, Gautier, Bordat, Bernard, and others, were actually hit upon, so that of the sixty-six accused, only three were acquitted, but the rest, on account of the law against the International of the 14th of March, 1872, were condemned to one to five years' imprisonment, the highest punishment possible. Almost all the accused, especially Krapotkin, openly avowed that they had instigated the acts of violence that had taken place in Montceau and Lyons and their adherence to the principles of Anarchism, but denied the existence of an international organization, and consequently the applicability of the law in question to them. They were convincingly confuted, however, by their own speeches at public meetings, by the papers which they had edited, by the numerous communications which had been intercepted, and which proved connections with Switzerland, Spain, Italy, and England, and by the many delegations to the international revolutionary congresses in other countries (London 14th of July, 1881, Lausanne 4th of June, 1882, Geneva 13th of August, 1882). Just as little did the instigators of the demonstrations in Paris escape their fate, of whom, for instance, Louise Michel and Ponget were condemned to six and eight years' imprisonment. In addition to these convictions, all public prosecutors were directed at once to prosecute every inflammatory speaker and every paper of that kind, and unhesitatingly to expel all foreigners who made themselves remarkable in that way. Nevertheless, scarcely any cessation can be perceived in the movement; on the contrary, the above-mentioned convictions have resulted only in outbreaks of the wildest vengeance, so that numberless protests, combined with threats to kill the judges and the juries, were made in all parts of the country. It might, therefore, appear questionable whether, without a corresponding limitation of the freedom of the press and of meeting, the movement can by any means be controlled any longer, and whether such measures as the bill intro-

duced at the end of January of this year, and directed solely against demonstrations in the streets, would suffice. But if the Government should again slacken in their timely severity, it would only revive the confidence of the Anarchists to be able to glorify the centenary celebration of the "great political revolution" by the outbreak of the "great social revolution."

It is a matter of great anxiety that in different town councils, such as, for instance, in Paris, Roubaix, Roanne, Lyons, St. Etienne, and Marseilles, already distinctly Socialistic tendencies are becoming apparent, for not only have these several times granted the Socialist congresses a free journey for the delegates, a free place of meeting, and other favours, and here and there number editors of social revolutionary papers among their members, but it seems that even the Town Council of Paris, under the influence of Joffrin, has actually become a place for experimenting on all kinds of Socialistic schemes. It was the Paris Town Council, too, which, on the proposal of Joffrin, when the verdict in the trial at Lyons had scarcely become valid, first declared itself by thirty-one votes against one for the amnesty, and even quite lately, also on the proposal of Joffrin, for the restoration of the National Guard.

Finally, since the transactions and decisions of all Socialist congresses always come from Paris as a centre, it seems that there at all events Socialism has found a place of refuge which, up till now, it has obtained nowhere else in the whole of Europe ; it is therefore not wonderful that it will have nothing to do with mere reforms and looks with the greatest confidence to the near future.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

ALTHOUGH England is the cradle of the "International" (it was founded, as already mentioned, on the 28th September, 1864, in London) and the classical soil of the great strikes, it has never succeeded in establishing itself there, because the sober and practical mind of the English workers directs its attention in the first instance to the conditions that immediately concern them, and seeks to reform them gradually through obstinate and persistent activity. Probably from the same reasons the "International Labour Union," which after the dissolution of the "International" formed itself out of the members of that body in London, could not flourish, and of its sections, corresponding to the various nationalities, the German alone acquired a certain vitality and importance, while from its midst issued the revolutionary school of Most and the idea of the reconstruction of the International on a purely revolutionary basis. This section called itself "Kommunistischer Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein," or Social Democratic Working Men's Club, and included four divisions, with about 1,000 members, when in December, 1878, Most was expelled from Berlin and settled in London.

He at once became leader of the Society, founded his notorious paper *Freiheit*, put himself in connection with the Communists and Nihilists who were numerous in London as well as with those holding similar opinions on the Continent, and by speeches and pamphlets began most active propaganda, under whose influence the Society sailed under more and more revolu-

tionary colours. As one part of the members by no means agreed with this, besides feeling themselves hurt by Most's dictatorial behaviour, an opposition soon made itself felt, and under the influence of the contemporaneous events within the German Social Democratic party, it also led to a division. Meanwhile Most had secured such an influence to himself that an overwhelming majority voted on his side, and some even went so far as to place themselves entirely at his disposal. With these followers Most, who, in consideration of the condition of France, Belgium, and Ireland, believed the revolution to be close at hand, formed an organization of the "United Socialists," whose motto was "Workers of all countries, unite!" and whose object the spread of social revolutionary principles and the enlightenment of the workers with regard to their class interest as set forth in the Communist manifesto. The head-quarters of the organization should be in London, and be directed by a central committee consisting of seven persons, and should allow all societies holding similar opinions on the Continent to become affiliated. In addition to this union, intended for public activity, Most, who hoped to play a great part in the expected revolution, and therefore wished to secure in time the leadership, founded also, under the name of "Propagandisten Klub," a secret society which was to carry on an international revolutionary agitation, and to make immediate preparations for the general revolution. For this object a committee should be formed in every country in order to take the leadership of the movement existing there and to call into existence numerous groups on Nihilistic lines; all these threads should then be joined in a central committee in London, consisting of representatives of all countries, and by this the whole revolutionary movement in every State was to be directed from the same point of view. Meanwhile, however, they should make as much preparation as possible by distributing *Freiheit* and other revolutionary leaflets, as well as by sending abroad a large number of agitators. That this plan by no means remained a dead letter was proved by the well-known trial of Breuder and his comrades for high treason at Leipzig, as well as the transactions of the International Revolutionary Congress in London, 14th to 19th July, 1881, which was called together chiefly on the

initiative and owing to the exertions of Most and the notorious Nihilist Hartmann.

The chief object of this congress was to revive the International on a distinctly revolutionary basis. Already in April a preliminary congress had been held at Paris, whose transactions turned principally on the political position of the parties and the social position of the workers in Europe and America. It emphasized the necessity of a union of the Proletariat of all countries against the already united bourgeoisie, repudiated the action of the "parliamentary" Socialists, since only a social revolution could give relief, declared that in the struggle against the existing society all means were just, and with regard to this recommended especially the spreading of leaflets, the sending abroad of propagandists, and the occasional employment of explosives. Of the spirit which imbued even this preliminary congress, and which was faithfully reflected in the party press, testimony was given among others by an amendment put by German social revolutionists in London which favoured the "violent removal of all potentates after the example of the Russian emperor," but was rejected as "premature and untimely." That such opinions found adherence not in London only was proved by numerous letters of congratulation from Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Pesth, Barcelona, and other places.

The chief Congress was then held from the 14th to the 19th of July in London, in the presence of about forty delegates, who represented several hundred groups of various European countries and of North America. In order to escape the vigilance of the police, it was arranged that the place for each meeting should be changed and that the members should be called by numbers only. During the transactions it was generally agreed upon that the exploitation of the workers by the tyrants must be stopped by every means, that enough words had been spoken and written, but now the time had come to proceed to actions.

The resolutions which finally resulted from the consultations were the following :—

"The revolutionists of all countries as a whole unite in an 'International Social Revolutionary Association of Workers' with the object of furthering the social revolution, the head-

quarters of the body in London, while subcommittees are being formed at Paris, Geneva, and New York. In every place where there are comrades, branches and an executive committee of three persons should be formed. The committees of each country keep up regular correspondence among themselves and with the chief committee by means of intermediate addresses for the sake of giving continuous information; and it is their duty to collect money for the purchase of poisons and arms, as well as to discover places suitable for the construction of mines, etc."

"For the attainment of the end kept in view, namely the annihilation of all rulers, ministers, the nobility, the clergy, the chief capitalists, and other exploiters, every means is allowed; and therefore careful attention, especially to the study of chemistry and the preparation of explosives as the most effective weapons, is recommended. In addition to the chief committee in London, an internationally composed 'executive committee,' or 'inquiry office,' is appointed, whose business is the carrying out of the decisions of the chief committee and the correspondence."

The Congress was closed with a vote of thanks to Hartmann in a public meeting, in which among other things Krapotkin drank a toast to the "brave and noble man who should be the first to commit an *attentat* * in Germany."

The executive committee at once became effective, and displayed an eager activity in order to carry out the decisions arrived at; in all countries adherents were gained, numerous propagandists were dispatched in all directions, revolutionary leaflets were distributed in large quantities, and special attempts were made to smuggle them into the barracks, money was collected to buy dynamite and infernal machines, etc. The success was such that at the conference called in October at Birmingham, the progress of the movement up to that time was declared satisfactory; also, in addition to the German section, an English, French, Slavonian, and Irish one had already been formed in London in the meantime.

So when in the winter 1881 to 1882 the Panslavic movement in Russia seemed in the opinion of many to make a war between Germany and Russia probable, the revolutionists already built a

* N.B.—Criminal attempt on the life of a public person or public property

this their far-reaching plans. But as soon as these rumours ceased, they wished by means of *attentats* to keep alive the interest of their adherents, and since then this has been the regular subject of discussion in all their private and public meetings. So on the anniversary of the murder of the Emperor, Alexander II., this "execution" was declared in a largely attended meeting to celebrate the event as an "act of necessity, since the emancipation of the people could not be carried out except by violence," and to this was joined the hope "that all tyrants would now soon obtain their due reward." Moreover, at a celebration which was held a few days later in remembrance of the Paris Commune, a speaker in concluding cried, "For the king the bomb, for the bourgeois the bullet, for the priest the dagger, for the traitor the rope," and on the 19th of March, in a meeting presided over by Krapotkin and largely attended, a German at the close made an appeal in which he demanded that "one should not be content with merely expressing one's approval, but should unite with two or three faithful and discreet comrades for the object of attacking public life and public property, and then promptly set to work." Lastly, the Phoenix murders in Dublin gave occasion to the wildest expressions of delight and congratulations to the "brave Irishmen who had already ventured on greater projects of this kind," and in the same way at every opportunity both in speech and writing the murder was praised as a deed of great merit.

It is true that in the summer of 1881 Most was condemned to sixteen months' hard labour on account of such an incitement to murder, which he had published in his paper *Freiheit*, on the occasion of the Petersburg *attentat*; however, this made no further impression on his comrades, since the paper could continue to appear without hindrance, and his conviction was the less regretted as he had become much disliked in his own circle of friends on account of his overbearing manners. The action of the revolutionists with regard to the Phoenix Park murder at last gave occasion for more severe measures, whose result was the condemnation of the editor of *Freiheit* at that time to eighteen months' hard labour, as well as complete suppression of this disgraceful paper, and which, in view of the Coercion Act then being

passed for the whole kingdom, raised much fear of expulsion in the revolutionary camp, so that the chief agitators preferred to leave England and to place themselves in safety in time. Not only did this necessarily diminish the agitation, but apparently it has entirely fallen into the background since the London dynamite outrage of the 15th of March, 1883, which aimed at the destruction of the Government houses at Westminster, called forth a considerable increase in the severity of the measures taken against all disturbances of that kind. According to the result of the inquiry instituted on account of this attempt, it was an act of vengeance on the part of the Irish-American Fenian Society, which, in view of the increasing difficulties in Ireland, had moved the scene of war to England itself, and had begun to realize the plan devised by the apostle of dynamite, O'Donovan Rossa, of annihilating the larger cities of England by a number of simultaneous explosions. As among other things a dynamite factory was actually discovered at Birmingham, the products of which were shortly to supply emissaries on their mission to the various towns, as soon as possible a law was passed which threatened the unlawful preparation and employment of explosives with the most severe punishment, and a project was formed for instituting a special police department intended to watch the international revolutionary disturbances. Since that time the revolutionary movements of the London Internationalists have not been of much importance, and the celebration of the Commune on the 18th of March, which has almost always given occasion to the most extravagant manifestations, passed off with especially little success. It is therefore easy to explain the fact that the moderate Socialists, who meanwhile have united under the leadership of an agitator formerly expelled from Berlin, and stand on entirely the same ground as the German Social Democratic party, are now coming more and more to the front, for they have for some time gained favour with the Radicals, and the Socialist ideas are already gradually becoming apparent in more extensive circles. With regard to this a certain change in the tactics of the Trades Unions is especially noteworthy. It is well known that these English societies of working men are spread over the whole country, are in possession of a strict organization, and

till now⁷ have confined their activity almost entirely to practical matters, and have sought to obtain an increase of wages and a reduction of the hours of labour by regularly organized strikes. However, in view of the many unfavourable business transactions during the last decade, it was recognised that in presence of the modern conditions of industry, with its crises, which are continually recurring because of overproduction and technical changes, these tactics were insufficient, and it became clear that without entering upon the field of politics no permanent success could be obtained. At the fifth annual Congress, held at Nottingham in 1872, where 250,000 members were represented, this idea had established itself so far that a special committee was chosen for the purpose of watching the proceedings in Parliament in reference to the labour question, and the necessity of sending working men or representatives of working men to Parliament was pointed out. At the last Congress but one at Manchester (18th to 23rd of September, 1882), where one hundred and twenty-six unions, with 520,592 members, were represented by one hundred and fifty-three delegates, the introduction of a special tax on each member was already discussed with a view to increase the number of the existing four delegates in the Lower House to at least twenty-five, and the last Congress at Nottingham (10th to 15th of September, 1883), which was more numerously attended still, declared that not only a direct and unrestricted representation of working men in Parliament (the representatives being either paid by the Working Men's party itself, or supported by the State by means of a grant to cover election as well as general expenses), but also a closer co-operation of the Trades Unions among themselves, was absolutely necessary in order that future results should be satisfactory.

However, this seems by no means to satisfy the present tendency; at least the London Trades Unions, at their yearly conference held in April, 1883, urgently recommended the foundation of a "Political Working Men's Party," which should independently carry on political action in the interest of the workers by means of candidates of their own, on the ground that the results of their former co-operation with the Liberals had

been insufficient, and especially that in the last few years it had been impossible to gain any concessions whatsoever for the workers. Should this proposal shortly become the declaration of the whole party, there is no doubt that the breach with their former tactics and with the existing ruling parties would become complete. But, considering the powerful organization and strict discipline of the Trades Unions, this would have an enormous importance for the further development of the Socialist movement in England, especially as the previous opposition of the Trades Unionists to Socialistic ideas has remarkably decreased. A proof of this, among other matters, is the decision on the question of the "nationalization of the land" which was on the agenda of the above-mentioned congresses at Manchester and Nottingham, and was accepted in principle by a considerable majority, while only a few years before it had been unanimously rejected. In the same way the closer connection which has lately been brought about with the "Revolutionary Socialist" French working men's party should here be considered. This began in November, 1882 (at which time it seemed that the much-discussed Channel Tunnel scheme was likely to be carried out), with the sending of a deputation on the subject to Paris, was continued by its active participation in the already-mentioned "International Conference" at Paris (29th October to 2nd November, 1883), to which the Italian and Spanish Socialists were also invited; and according to the resolutions there passed, this connection is to be developed by means of further international congresses which it is intended to call to as close and permanent a union as possible.

It is just this agitation for a thorough reform of the agrarian state of things, which, it is true, is abnormal, that seems to be continually becoming more extended, especially since the "Land Nationalization Society," founded at the beginning of 1882, and the American political economist and agitator Henry George, have taken up this question. The impetus to this was given by the Irish agrarian movement, which, in addition to its political character, was distinctly Socialistic at heart, and had been carried over by the Irish agitators to England and Scotland; and it seems that this agitation was the cause of the now projected abolition in *these two countries* also of the most crying abuses by a suitable

reform of the conditions of tenure. It is true that this did not satisfy the above-mentioned Society, since its aims are far more radical, for as the Trades Unions struggle against the monopoly of capital, it, on the other hand, intends to replace the so-called "landlordism" by "communism in land," *i.e.*, to restore to the people the land which is supposed naturally and justly to belong to it.

Lately the Radicals have sought to use these different tendencies, inclining more or less to Socialism, by attempting to unite them for common action on the basis of a suitable programme, in order to call to life a "truly national party," which, in contrast to the two existing parties, who after all only served their private interests, should make the political and social regeneration of England the object of its existence. For this purpose a "Democratic Federation of England," or, as lately called, "Social Democratic Federation of England," was founded at the beginning of 1882, of which there are already branches in all the larger towns, and which controls two organs of the party, the monthly magazine *To-day* and the weekly paper *Justice*, and is directed by an executive committee in London, in which Trades Unionists, Land Reformers, Radicals, Socialists, and even a former Revolutionary Socialist are represented. At the head of the programme of the party, which has lately been much distributed, are the two chief demands: introduction of a democratic constitution founded on universal suffrage for men and women, and nationalization of land and capital,* while it is declared that other reforms, as, for instance, the introduction of a normal working day of eight hours, a progressive income tax, free education, etc., cannot be postponed.

That this movement offers no special guarantee for lawful proceedings might be gathered even from the attitude of one of its former chief organs, the *London Radical*, which shortly before the Dublin murders declared that political murder was a just, and even a noble deed, "since all rulers were merely usurpers, traitors, and rebels against popular rights," and while applauding

* By "capital" Dr. Zacher signifies the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

the Nihilists, pointed out that if only the Nihilism of the Communism of France, the Socialism of Germany, the Radicalism of England would combine for common action, despots and their thrones would very soon disappear from the face of the earth.

It is true that these Socialistic Radical views up till now met with little favour and acceptance among the masses, yet germs are already noticeable everywhere, and as, more or less, economical conditions and prospects of the country are partly favourable to their development, we are reluctantly compelled to fear that finally all these tendencies will unite under the banner of Socialism. Indeed, it seems that the recent growth of the Socialistic press and literature, which formerly failed to take root, already admits of such an interpretation. That the working men by no means shrink from using violence is proved by the Chartist movement in its time, the great strike of iron-workers in Staffordshire in late summer of 1882, when, as is well known, considerable rioting took place.

Even in Scotland the same tendencies are noticeable. The agrarian movement, as above mentioned, was introduced into Ireland, and found, especially in the Highlands, a favourable soil. Already in December, 1881, at a meeting at Aberdeen, thousands of about 40,000 farmers demanded a reform of the conditions of tenure by remission during bad harvests, compensation for improvements, and the right of prolongation and cessation of demands with which the Irish movement had also begun, and in the course of the following year (1882) in the island of Skye, and in various parts of the Highlands, this example was followed by refusing all payment of rent, offering energetic resistance to the military. How far we intended to remove the existing evils, we have already in

On the other hand, the Socialistic Democratic agitation emanates from England seeks to establish itself in the towns, like Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to gain adherents by holding meetings and distribution of pamphlets, and apparently not without success, for in the towns mentioned considerable branch societies have already been founded.

In the Irish movement, which scarcely two years ago attracted general attention, three elements, roughly speaking, co-operated : "the political Radical, the Socialistic economic, and the social revolutionary parties," represented by the Home Rulers, the Land League, and the Fenians.

Only at the beginning of the year 1881 did the agrarian movement assume an extreme character, at which time the so-called "Father of the Land League," Michael Davitt, who was the first to declare the Irish question a Social one, and who had gained the clergy on his side by appealing to a Bible text, was imprisoned, and a Coercion Act was passed. The so-called "Just Rent Agitation" * arose, in order to put down which a Land Act was passed, that came into force in the autumn of 1881, and which introduced the fixing of rent by law, and made it possible for farmers to obtain a kind of hereditary tenure. The Land League was not satisfied with these concessions, and insisted on the release of Davitt and the repeal of the Coercion Act at the National Convention held at Dublin (15th till 22nd of September, 1881). When this was not only refused, but the Land League itself, on account of its revolutionary tendency, was declared illegal, and its chief organizer, the member of Parliament Parnell, was also imprisoned, the League issued its "No Rent Manifesto," and by the commission of the so-called agrarian outrages actually began a guerilla war, the extent and bitterness of which may be estimated by the fact that up to the spring of 1882 the number of crimes amounted on an average to about five hundred a month, that more than a thousand persons were imprisoned by means of the Coercion Act, and about 20,000 forcible evictions took place.

This movement derived its chief support from America, where the Land League counted at the time more than three hundred branches among the Irish population. At a National Convention at Chicago (30th November till 2nd of December, 1881), attended by eight hundred and thirty-seven delegates from these branches, Fenians, Home Rulers, and Leaguers unanimously demanded an Irish parliament, confirmed the "No-Rent Manifesto," and in order to carry it out a subscription of 250,000 dollars was proposed, which

* Dr. Zacher means by this the well-known Fair Rent Agitation.

should be paid up by the 1st of February, 1882. Seventy thousand dollars more were contributed by the two Irish members of Parliament and co-directors of the Land League Healy and O'Connor, on their return to Ireland, as the proceeds of their tour through America, and until the spring of 1882 altogether about 600,000 dollars were sent from America to the treasurer of the League in Paris. Besides this, the Irish were strengthened in their resistance by numberless meetings, and a manifesto was addressed from New York to the workers of all countries, which urged them not only to support the Irish, but also to follow their example.

The yielding policy of the Government in April, 1882, seemed at last likely to lead to a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, when the murder of Lord Cavendish and the Under-Secretary of State, Burke, in Phoenix Park at Dublin (on the 6th of May, 1882), again unsettled everything.

The immediate result of these events was the passing of a more stringent Coercion Act, while, on the other hand, the still oppressed condition of the farmers was further relieved by the remission of arrears; and by these means the leaders of the Irish movement saw at the same time the right way of making progress. The conviction that they had been on the wrong track, therefore, soon ripened, and under the influence of Parnell at a National Conference held at Dublin, on the 17th of October, 1882, in which about seven hundred delegates took part, the parties of Leaguers and Home Rulers were united into an Irish National League for the purpose of establishing, by legal methods, the self-government of Ireland, the abolition of the present system of tenure by converting the tenants into peasant proprietors, and by raising the industrial and agricultural proletariat through the improvement of industry and agriculture. The Irish-American Fenians, who would have nothing to do with such a change of policy, at once stopped their subscriptions, strongly opposed the "Policy of Moderation," and continued in secret its murderous attacks on judges, jurymen, police, and other officials, so that already at the end of November, 1882, it was necessary to place Dublin and the neighbourhood in a state of siege on account of the new Coercion Act. Davitt, who, in opposition to Parnell, finds the possibility of a solution of the land question only in the nationalization of the land, never-

theless seemed at first inclined to co-operate with Parnell, but soon he left the executive committee of the "National League," in order to be able to make propaganda for his idea without restraint; he travelled through Ireland and Scotland, and with reference to the famine, threatening Ireland in the winter of 1882-3, in consequence of the recent bad harvests, preached the old "No-Rent Policy," in which he was supported most energetically from the direction of America by the agitator Henry George, who had meanwhile returned thither. In fact, all means were employed from America to destroy the influence of the National League, which soon numbered over three hundred branches, and to confer on Ireland the blessings of political and social emancipation, that is to say, the violent separation from England and the extermination of the landlords.


In spite of this, the "National League" succeeded in leading to the formation of a similar society in America, and by that means to obtain a considerable increase in strength. At a congress held at Philadelphia, on the 25th and 26th of April, 1883, to which the Irish-American societies had sent more than five hundred delegates, it was decided to change the former "Land League" into an "Irish National League of America," and to support actively the sister society of their native land by following out Parnell's programme. The adoption of this moderate programme, it is true, was somewhat startling, but succeeded, partly because public opinion even in America, on account of the London explosion on the 15th of March, 1883, condemned the continuation of this method of fighting, partly because Parnell, as organizer and leader of the Irish National League, had sent an urgent request to the meeting to keep within such limits that he might be able to accept the offered support without giving occasion to the English Government for taking measures against the new national movement. But it was significant that the so-called "Dynamite Policy," which until then had been zealously preached by the Irish-American press, and with regard to which, in view of the London outrage, a complete explanation was expected from the Convention, was simply passed over with silence, and that Parnell also could only insufficiently defend himself against the charge made in the English parliament that he had known of and con-

nived at the support which the Fenians had received out of the funds of the Land League.

Collections were nevertheless started in Ireland for the purpose of a testimonial to Parnell, which, notwithstanding a papal interdict, reached within a few months the sum of nearly £40,000. Latterly, as we know, under the leadership of Parnell, in the province of Ulster, the head-quarters of the Protestant Orangemen, a fierce quarrel has begun between them and the Roman Catholic Leaguers, which, it would seem, was caused less by religious differences (Parnell himself is a Protestant), than by the political opposition, inasmuch as the Orangemen defend the idea of the unity of the Empire, the Leaguers, on the other hand, more or less distinct federalism.

For the rest the English Government succeeded in the course of last year (1883) in controlling the revolutionary movement in Ireland at least to some extent by imprisoning the chief agitators, among them several members of Parliament, by means of the Coercion Act, and by gradually discovering the secret associations which had perpetrated numberless crimes within the last years. Thus they succeeded in dissolving the so-called "Invincibles," who had made it their special business to carry out the Phoenix Park murders, the "Irish Patriotic Fraternity," the "Vigilance Committee," and similar societies, who all had as their common object the war of annihilation against English rule in Ireland, and in awarding to their members, so far as they had not fled to America, their well-deserved punishment. Since then the number of outrages committed has considerably decreased, and the reforms which have been begun seem gradually to exert their beneficial influence. On the other hand, it is true that the determined attitude against the revolutionists has ripened their intention henceforward to attack England at its very heart, of which the dynamite outrages which have been continued till quite recently in London and other English towns, and the inquiries instituted there, give painful proof.

SWITZERLAND.

NTIL the present day Socialism has not been able to gain numerous adherents in Switzerland among its native population, because the difference in language in the various parts of the country, the small concentration of industry, and the strongly developed national feeling of distrust of everything foreign, much impede all propaganda of this kind. Thus as lately as 1880 the whole number of the adherents of the Swiss working men's movement, with all its shades of opinion, was estimated at scarcely 1,500 out of a population of three millions. On the other hand, in this small country Socialism first and most distinctly showed its international character, since already for several decades Switzerland has offered a place of meeting for all the elements of discontent throughout Europe, and its central position in the heart of Europe on the border between the Germanic and Romanic nations makes it preferable even to the equally liberal England.

It is sufficient with regard to this to refer to the great trials of Socialists which took place shortly before 1880 in the chief cities of Europe, and almost all of which pointed out that Switzerland was the centre of international revolutionary agitation; to the revolutionary press which appears there in large numbers, especially at Geneva, and in many different languages, and which thence travels to the different countries of Europe; to the official circular of the 7th of December, 1878, which even a Swiss administration deemed necessary in order to control the waves of this movement, which were running too high; to the numerous expulsions of Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, Poles, and others which followed thereon. The International, too,

held its great congresses by preference on Swiss ground. The Socialistic agitation has therefore always been obliged to deal with the most various elements in Switzerland, and the chief difficulty has always been the attainment of an organization to satisfy all parties, while its solution has not been discovered up till now. Already the "International" had fallen a victim to the development of such special endeavours on Swiss ground. These had been begun shortly before 1870 by the Russian Nihilist Bakunin, had led in 1871 to the foundation of the "Fédération Jurassienne," which even then was strongly inclined to Anarchism, and at the Congress of Hague (2nd and 9th of September, 1872) to the well-known split and consequent dissolution of the "International." It was then intended to unite its Swiss members with the allied movements into a centralized organization; and when this failed the attempt was made to form a mixed organization, which, however, succeeded even less, so that at the present time the hope of success lies in purely federalistic principles.

Among the various elements which must here be considered the "Grütliverein" is the only stable and widely spread organization. This society favours strongly national Swiss tendencies, has during the last ten years distinctly assumed the character of a working men's organization, numbers nearly two hundred branches, with about 7,000 members, succeeds in obtaining a yearly income of 70,000 to 80,000 francs, controls a paper of its own, the *Grütliener*, and consists of a number of local and cantonal unions, that are directed in unison from the head-quarters, which are changed every year. On the other hand, the "Deutscher Arbeiterverein" and the Swiss "Gewerkschaften" concern themselves with purely economical matters. Of these the latter arose first under the control of the "International," while the German associations, who have their head-quarters at Geneva, and who founded an organ of their own, the *Vorbote*, are in every way the oldest working men's organizations in Switzerland. Lastly we have to consider the Social Democrats and the Anarchists, and while the former draw their chief support from the above-mentioned trade societies, in the Anarchist camp, which is strongest in the French part of Switzerland, the most various nationalities are represented. Although these different

groups are not so sharply divided that members of one body might not also belong to another, yet it is comprehensible that such different elements cannot easily be formed into an organization which should include all. Nevertheless such attempts have been made.

The first was the founding of the "Schweizerischer Arbeiterbund" (Swiss Working Men's Union), which was started in 1873, at the "first general Swiss Congress of Workers" at Olten. Here the influence of the "International" was still felt so far that the chief principles of the programme and organization were borrowed from it, while for the rest the attempt was made to satisfy the various special tendencies as much as possible by means of the so-called "stepping stones." It was, however, not long before this failed. The Swiss members complained of the want of interest in, and comprehension of, their national political objects shown by the numerous foreigners, and especially the Germans, while, on the other hand, the Germans, who indeed cared more for the propaganda in Germany and the events that took place there, than for the Swiss comrades, thought that they were too little supported by them, and, moreover, caused a split in the Association when the question was brought forward whether they should follow the party of Most and Hasselmann or that of Bebel and Liebknecht. Thus it came about that the number of the members of the "Arbeiterbund" decreased from 5,000 to 2,000, and shortly after the Society saw that its dissolution was inevitable.

Consequently the proposal of the Germans,—who since the Congress of Wyden (20th to 23rd August, 1880) had felt the pressing need of becoming more closely connected with their comrades in Germany, but had seen that they were considerably hindered by the necessity of keeping on good terms with the Swiss,—to dissolve the "Arbeiterbund" and to attempt the formation of another organization was generally approved of. In accordance with this, at the seventh and last Congress of the "Arbeiterbund" at Olten (from the 6th to the 8th November, 1880), it was decided to separate the political and industrial movements and to assign them to different organizations. For this purpose it was arranged that on the 1st of January, 1881, an

"Allgemeiner Gewerkschaftsbund" (General Trades Union) should begin its existence, and should be open to all nationalities, since the basis of the industrial question was international; on the other hand, the political movements should be carried on by societies corresponding to the several nationalities, and therefore the Swiss united in a "Social Democratic party of Switzerland," the Germans (taking as their basis the Gotha programme) in a "German Social Democratic party in Switzerland." The "Schweizerische Vereinsbuchdruckerei und Volksbuchhandlung" (Swiss Printing Association and Popular Book Store), which had been formed by the "Arbeiterbund" at Zürich, was converted into an association whose shares could be obtained only by members of the above-mentioned societies and of the "Grütliverein," which had meanwhile regained its former independence, and in place of the *Tagwacht*, the *Arbeiterstimme* was called into existence as the official organ of the "Gewerkschaftsbund" and the Swiss Socialists, while the *Sozialdemokrat* was left to the Germans. At the same time Geneva was declared the head-quarters of the "Gewerkschaftsbund," and Zürich was retained as that of the Socialistic societies. Now since all these societies were to receive a local and cantonal constitution, like the "Grütliverein," it was hoped that it would be all the easier to attain a successful co-operation in a Socialistic direction, especially since now the different special movements could take their course without injuring the whole. Nevertheless in this case too the hoped-for success was not attained. Already in the following year the "Grütliverein" refused its co-operation, "since, as a national society, it could not connect itself with the international aims of the 'Gewerkschaftsbund' and the Socialists."

The Swiss and German elements again came into conflict in the "Gewerkschaftsbund," and the latter especially was accused of an arrogant desire for power, and no unanimity could be obtained even with regard to the question of organization, whether an industrial, or territorial, or mixed formation deserved the preference. In consequence of this the Swiss Social Democratic party made no progress, especially as they were short of suitable agitators in the first instance, and even the *Arbeiterstimme*

could scarcely be prevented from failing. The German Social Democrats, on the other hand, not only suffered considerably from internal dissensions, to which, among other things, besides the wavering attitude of their deputies in the German Reichstag, the arrogant and almost dictatorial conduct of the chief leaders, especially of the staff of the *Sozialdemokrat*, gave rise, but they were, moreover, in constant warfare with the Anarchists, who opposed them not without success.

The beginning of this split in the German camp dated from 1880, at which time the quarrel between the party of Most and Hasselmann and that of Bebel and Liebknecht broke out also in Germany. As already mentioned, immediately after the prorogation of the German Reichstag it had been intended by the so-called moderate leaders of the party to call a congress at Rorschach to allay this dispute, and Most was already travelling thither when the Congress was suspended, just because it was foreseen that if he was present, an open breach would take place, and it was believed that this could still be avoided in the interest of the party. Most now made use of his presence in Switzerland to propagate his ideas among the Germans there and to make his opponents suspected, in a way peculiar to himself. He succeeded in obtaining adherents in different places, and they, after his departure, continued the agitation in his spirit and obtained considerable success, especially as the decisions of the next Congress (held in August, 1880, at Wyden), particularly with regard to the expulsion of Most and Hasselmann from the party, gave great dissatisfaction. The opposition felt already strong enough to hold a kind of opposition congress at the Lake of Geneva, at which the decisions made at Wyden were declared null and void, the London *Freiheit* was accepted as the organ of the party, and the further formation of groups for agitation was decided on in order to distribute the *Freiheit* and social revolutionary leaflets in large quantities in Germany. The London Congress, with whose chief personalities a close communication was kept up, gave a further impulse to the agitation; the programme drawn up there was accepted, and the work of carrying it out was at once begun. The attempt was made to organize the members after the fashion of the Nihilist group system; special correspondents were appointed to carry on com-

munication between the several places and groups ; a subscription was started for the better distribution of the *Freiheit* and similar writings in Germany ; it was intended to send emissaries thither for the occasional perpetration of acts of violence, and other means and methods were employed by which it was intended to hasten the outbreak of the revolution in Germany as much as possible.

As on the whole the more active elements were to be found on Most's side, this energetic agitation did not remain unsuccessful, the revolutionary, or rather Anarchist groups increased, especially in the north-eastern and French parts of Switzerland, and when in the summer of 1882 the *Freiheit* could no longer appear in London, it was already possible to secure the despatch of the paper from Switzerland for some months, until Most on his arrival at New York himself resumed this business.

During the past year (1883) the Anarchists even succeeded in many cases in obtaining the majority in the German Working Men's Societies, or in dissolving these societies, and although they seek as much as possible to avoid appearing in public in view of the watchfulness directed on them by the authorities lately, they are all the more active in secret. Thus, as lately as August, 1883, at a secret conference at Zürich, where a number of Swiss places as well as Germany, Austria, and France were represented by delegates, and the existing organization in groups was found to be generally satisfactory, they elaborated a new plan for the distribution of social revolutionary literature, which should be as extensive and as secure against measures taken by the authorities as possible, besides making preparations for the foundation of a secret printing press ; and, as the subsequent well-known distribution in Germany of various numbers of the *Rebell*, "organ of the Anarchists speaking the German language ; free printing press for the people ; Communism at Nowhere," would lead us to infer, these determinations were probably also carried out.

Although this shows that the chief attention of the German Anarchists in Switzerland is always directed towards Germany, they do not neglect on that account to maintain a close connection with their far more numerous comrades of other nationalities. With regard to this we must consider particularly the already-mentioned "*Fédération Jurassienne*," which includes among its

members a motley mixture of Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Russians, Poles, Czechs, Germans, and Swiss. Already at the end of the last decade it had assumed such a strongly Anarchist tendency that, among other things, it expressed its "warmest sympathy for Hödel," this new martyr of the popular movement, declared that "God was the product of the confused imagination of men and the harmful speculation of despots," and represented the "absolute autonomy of the individual" as in every way the ideal of the future society. Under the personal leadership of the Nihilist Krapotkin and the influence of his own paper, the Geneva *Révolution*, the Society received such vigour, that it at once spread over a great part of Southern France, and at an annual congress held on the 4th of June, 1882, at Lausanne, where thirty delegates were present, it could already count its adherents by thousands. This congress, at which practically the London programme was considered and accepted, gave among other things the impulse to the calling of a secret international conference at Geneva, on the occasion of the International Musical Festival, which was held from the 12th to 14th August, 1882. For this purpose the propagandist committee of Geneva sent to all the Revolutionists of Europe an invitation, addressed in the most inflammatory expressions, and to this invitation about fifty Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Russians responded. The Conference took place from the 13th to 14th August, and treated as the chief matter for consideration "the separation of the Anarchists from all other parties," and this was unanimously considered absolutely necessary. Reports from Lyons, Montceau-Mines, Marseilles, Cette, Grénoble, Paris, and various Swiss towns, represented the state of things as everywhere very favourable, and encouraged those present to the cry "Down with God! Down with fatherland, government, bourgeoisie! for our foes are the rulers!" This was more closely followed out in a manifesto shortly afterwards addressed to all the workers of Europe, especially in the words: "We declare ourselves completely for every one who by revolutionary acts derides the law, and we declare every means in this direction to be good."

Although on account of the disturbances which broke out shortly afterwards in the south of France, and which must rightly

be attributed, partially at all events, to the agitation which had emanated from Switzerland, the Swiss authorities devoted to the Anarchists an amount of attention very unpleasant for the latter, this did not restrain the Jurassian Federation from calling their yearly congress from the 7th to 9th July, 1883, at Chaux-de-Fonds, and there fully discussing the establishment of an international fund for the "victims of the reactionary bourgeoisie," the harmfulness of a union of the revolutionary groups from the Anarchist point of view, the solidarity of the latter with regard to the principles of limitation in reference to propaganda, and the necessity of "propaganda by deed," and with regard to the latter question calling attention to the example of the Roanne workman, who at the last great strike there had fired at his employer, as especially worthy of praise and emulation.

In view of the apparently increasing influence of the Anarchists, the Social Democrats of Switzerland came to the determination that they must take some decisive step if they wished to prevent the control of the movement from being wrested from them. It is true that as against the Anarchists they have an advantage, in so far as through the frequent visits of the Social Democratic deputies of the Reichstag, through the continual immigration and emigration of German workmen, and through the circulation of the *Sozialdemokrat*, which appears in their midst, they stand in far closer communication with their native country, and also have greater intelligence and more abundant resources on their side; on the other hand, these advantages are paralyzed by the already-mentioned internal dissensions, so that as lately as at a conference held in May, 1883, at Biel, and attended by about seventy delegates, it could not but be confessed that the organization, as well as the agitation in general, still left much to be wished for. Consequently the idea prevailed of again uniting with the Swiss and again trying a general organization, which, however, should this time be on a purely federalistic basis, i.e., it was intended to unite the societies of the "Grütli-ianer," the "Gewerkschaftler," the "Deutsche Arbeitervereine," the Swiss and German Social Democrats, which were spread over the whole country, for the purpose of united action in all questions of common interests, especially with regard to international

legislation in the interest of the workers and in a Socialistic direction, the independence of the societies being completely guaranteed, so as not only to retain a counterpoise to the Anarchist element, which is pressing to the front, but also to attain successes more practical than hitherto. These views were universally accepted at a "General Conference of Swiss Workers," held from the 8th to 10th September at Zürich, and attended by 176 delegates, and the execution of the plan was entrusted to an "Executive Committee," composed of two members of each of the above-named five societies. Notwithstanding most active agitation, however, they had enrolled by the middle of November only 3,680 members in the new organization (1,500 "Grütlianner," 730 "Gewerkschaftler," 550 members of "German Workmen's Associations," 600 German and 300 Swiss Democrats), and as, moreover, the old differences seem to be breaking out again, it seems probable that the new organization will not escape the fate of the former ones. It appears, moreover, that an appeal addressed in December by the "Executive Committee" to "the organized workmen of all countries," in which the latter are especially urged on to an active agitation for the introduction of a normal working day of eight hours, reform of women's and abolition of children's labour and of manufactures injurious to health, in order by this means to exert on the Governments a certain pressure to further the international regulation of these matters, and in which, for the better understanding of these points, it is proposed to hold an "International Conference of Workers," has not yet had the expected success, and that therefore the address to the Swiss Bundesrath, in which the latter was to be urged to take the initiative on the question of international factory legislation, according to the decisions of the Workmen's Conference, has not been presented.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, DENMARK, SCANDINAVIA.

IN Belgium, on account of its proximity to France and the highly developed industry of the country, the "International" rapidly made way, and already in the spring of 1869 it is said to have numbered between 60,000 and 70,000 members. At the Congress of Hague (2nd to 9th of September, 1872), it was especially the Belgian delegates who, in concert with the Spanish delegates, supported the opposition against Marx, demanding, on account of some isolated abuses on the part of the General Committee of its position, a considerable diminution of its powers. It is well known that this dispute led to the division of the "International" into the so-called centralistic or authoritative section, under Marx, and the federalistic or Anarchist section, under Bakunin, as well as to the removal of the General Committee to New York, and consequently to the almost immediate dissolution of the "International," especially as an attempt at union, which was made at its last congress at Ghent (9th to 16th of September, 1877), was only partly successful. It was not till the end of the last decade, when the Socialistic movement in Germany was attracting universal attention, that the waves of the movement in Belgium began to rise higher, and even this was apparently under the influence of a German group of agitators, which, in the autumn of 1878, had constituted itself at Brussels as a "German Reading Club," in connection with the Belgian Socialists. Since that time Socialist congresses have been held yearly.

After the way had been prepared at the first of these (held at Boom, in the year 1878) for a union of all the groups in a "Socialist

Working Men's Party of Belgium," this was definitely decided on at the next Congress held in Brussels, at Easter, 1879; at the same time a "Central Committee" was appointed to direct the whole movement, the Gotha programme was accepted as an embodiment of their principles, and the organs of the party were declared to be in Brussels *La Voix de l'Ouvrier*, at Antwerp *De Werker*, and at Ghent *De Volkswil*. However, this unity was not to last long. Already the next yearly Congress, at Whitsuntide, 1880, at Brussels, brought with it the signs of an imminent split, which soon after took place in the same way as in Germany, and apparently here, too, the example of the "German Reading Club" had considerable influence, especially as the German Socialists, on account of their methodical procedure, were already at that time much looked up to by their Belgian associates. In fact, the above-mentioned Society had, under the personal influence of Liebknecht and Most, the latter of whom was at that time expelled with several of his associates from the land, divided itself into two corresponding sections, of which the Radical one acted entirely on the basis of Most's ideas, and agitated most energetically for the spread of his paper, *Freiheit*, and other revolutionary writings, particularly by establishing a special branch at the small town of Verviers, situated near the German border. As these Radical ideas were accepted by many of the native Socialists already, at the above-mentioned Congress many advocated more energetic action, and, among other things, full agreement with the attitude of *Freiheit* was declared. Gradually these differences became more distinct, and when, in the year 1881, the followers of Bebel and Liebknecht intended to hold an international congress in Switzerland (at Chur, 2nd to 4th of October), the followers of Most a similar congress in London (14th to 19th of July), the question of participation in one or the other of these congresses decided also in Belgium the separation of the two tendencies, so that henceforward each party held its congresses by itself. The moderate party, that is the "Socialistic Workmen's Party," which at first insisted on the attainment of universal suffrage as a means for the further development of its programme, decided at the Congress in Antwerp, at Easter, 1881, to send delegates to the Swiss Congress, and, as late as August, called an extraordinary

conference at Huy, to consult on the programme for the International Congress, to choose delegates, and to give them the necessary instructions. The Radical Socialists, on the other hand, who formed a "Union Révolutionnaire," and at Verviers founded a special organ of their party, *La Persévérance*,* and in order to prepare for it, held various quarterly congresses (on the 19th of September, 1880, at Brussels, on the 25th of December, 1880, at Verviers, and on the 20th of March, 1881, at Cuesmes), at which it was decided to call back to existence the "International Workmen's Association" on a revolutionary basis, but to retain the organization as inclusive as possible, so as not to limit the independence and freedom of action of the various groups. For this purpose uninterrupted verbal and written communication was kept up with the London Organization Committee, and it also took part in arranging the order of the day by proposing the motion with regard to the employment of explosives, the impulse to which had been given by German members in Brussels.

Soon after the success of the German Socialists at the Reichstag elections, October, 1880, aroused the emulation of their Belgian comrades. The moderate party especially felt so strengthened thereby in their struggle for universal suffrage, that since then this question has almost exclusively prevailed at their meetings, conferences, and congresses, and has given rise to many demonstrations in favour of an adequate constitutional reform. Moreover, they at once set to work to found specially for this purpose a "Ligue Réformiste Électorale" (Electoral Reform League); and although the Radical Socialists, who, meanwhile, had been transformed into complete Anarchists, formed a similar society (Ligue Républicaine Socialiste), this took place on their part merely in order not to lose influence, since for them the question of the suffrage was not an object in itself, but only a means of propaganda. Nevertheless, neither society thrived; the Anarchists did not succeed, because even among themselves they could not obtain any unity, and the Socialists, on the other hand, did not meet among the masses with the lively interest which they had expected. Thus it happened that the Anarchists did not succeed in holding any annual congress at all in 1882, and that that of the Socialists (at

* Declared themselves in favour of the London Congress.

Verviers at Whitsuntide) passed off uneventfully. In order successfully to counteract this stagnation the Socialist leaders, headed by the well-known former Internationalist Dr. César de Pape, put themselves in communication with a few Radical deputies, and formed on the basis of a programme corresponding in many points with the Gotha, and therefore with the French minimum programme, the "Union Démocratique," which, in the first instance, was to unite under the banner of constitutional reform of the suffrage all the progressive and Socialist groups (though excluding the Anarchists, who are a danger to the discipline of every party) for harmonious and successful action. Soon after this, in order to keep interest alive and to form a strong organization, they arranged a great festival at Liège (24th of September, 1882), and invited to it the German Reichstag deputy Von Vollmar, in order that he might address the party on the success attained in Germany by unity. Von Vollmar acquitted his task, laying repeated stress on the solidarity of the workers, to the great satisfaction of all, and since that time the most various schemes of organization have been proposed, without resulting, however, in agreement, and that the less because of the Walloons, who were strongly imbued with Anarchist views, and resisted every strict organization. Not more successful was Von Vollmar in a second circular tour, which he again undertook by request on the occasion of an "International Volksfest" at Antwerp in February, 1883, through several Belgian towns. At the annual Congress, held at Liège (13th to 14th of May, 1883), and only called together by great efforts, hesitation and dissension were especially noticeable. After the Central Committee, stationed at Ghent, had been severely reprovved, it was decided, it is true, to create a new organization, founded upon a common programme, and to receive regular monthly subscriptions for the strengthening of this union; but the formation of an agitation fund, and the proposed party organ to be established at Liège, were again declined "on the ground that the necessary means would probably not be forthcoming," nor has anything further been heard of the proposed organization being carried out. The only two party papers up to this time, *De Volkstem*, at Ghent, and *La Sentinelle*, at Verviers, also seem scarcely to pay their way

owing, no doubt, to their comparatively moderate, somewhat doctrinaire attitude.

After all, it appears that the Socialism of Belgium, however well spread its doctrines may be there, has hitherto not awakened the deeper interest in its adherents that would incline them to undergo considerable personal sacrifice for the cause. The vivacious and easily moved character of the people would offer no guarantee, however, for the conduct of those who now belong to the moderate party, in case their extreme comrades should succeed in some considerable measure.

Externally visible results have not been achieved by the Anarchists either, for with the dissension prevailing in their own ranks, no united organization has been possible, nor have they established party papers, since their proposal has always finally failed from want of funds, and their public meetings are always only composed of the same speakers and the same audience. They are, nevertheless, a threatening danger to political and social order, because their agitation is ultra-revolutionary, pre-eminently secret, and decidedly international, and has already found entrance here and there among the great masses. Fully convinced that the Social Revolution only can bring the longed-for salvation, they solely aim at bringing this about as quickly as possible. Therefore they make use of every opportunity to stir up the masses, and they direct their attention especially to incite to extensive strikes in the great industrial centres, which have already resulted in several instances in considerable riots, with occasional use of explosives. All this does not satisfy them, however; on the contrary, they have instituted special secret committees for the purpose of drawing up complete revolutionary plans to come into force at the next European conflict. Their way of thinking is proved among other things by their attitude with regard to the murders committed at Petersburg and Dublin by the Nihilists and Fenians, which not only gave them an opportunity at the time to declare themselves fully in favour of such procedure, but also to express the hope that such examples might be followed in other countries, especially in Germany, because it was only through fear that the people could finally be driven to revolution. Their international relations, however, are by no means limited to manifesta-

tions of that kind; on the contrary, they entertain lively intercourse by word and writing with their comrades in other countries, and the members of the only remaining section of the old "International" at Brussels take a prominent place amongst them. Thus, for instance, the pecuniary means for bringing about the above-mentioned strikes have been chiefly subscribed in other countries, and the well-known dynamite outrage at Ganshoren, near Brussels, February, 1883, has quite recently proved that associations of that kind exist, for besides several native Anarchists, two Frenchmen, previously convicted on account of the excesses in Montceau-les-Mines and Lyons, and several Russians had taken part in it, and this conspiracy is said to have had a similar end in view as the one shortly afterwards discovered in London. The speeches made at the same time at the grave of a comrade who had lost his life in this attempt give evidence of the fanaticism by which this class of revolutionists are inspired; a speaker concluded, for instance, as follows:—"Your example shall teach us to carry on without fear the struggle against the present society. It is our duty to continue the work at which you have laboured with so much ardour and devotion." The movements of these revolutionists are all the more dangerous as they exercise the greatest precaution and secrecy, especially since the above-mentioned events have led in Belgium also to a stricter supervision of their proceedings, and the ranks of the foreign agitators have been considerably thinned by frequent expulsion. This is the reason also why the Germans at that time quietly retreated into the background, and have for the present apparently discontinued their former efforts to unite themselves into groups for agitation.

In Holland the movement for the introduction of universal suffrage, as in Belgium, has grown into a general one, and may be found, not only on the programme of the "*Sozialdemokratische Verein*" and the "*Allgemeine Niederländische Arbeiterverein*," but for its promotion a separate society has even been founded: "*Niederländischer Bund für Allgemeines Stimmrecht*" (Union of the Netherlands for Universal Suffrage), which held its first congress at Utrecht, where fifty-four societies were already represented.

The last Socialist Congress met towards the end of the same

year at Rotterdam, and was attended by some twenty delegates from different towns. In spite of the antipathy that still prevails among many of the Dutch working men towards Socialism, slow but sure progress was confirmed, and it was resolved, among other things, that the "Landesrath" should be removed to London, that a printing establishment should be acquired, and a subscription for Socialistic propaganda be founded. The paper *Recht voor Allen*, already issued at Hague since the year 1879, under the editorship of the former pastor and present agitator Domela Nieuwenhuis, should be retained as party paper. Shortly before Louise Michel, who intended to go on an agitator tour through Belgium, but had been expelled on account of her conduct caused by her, had also given vent to her inflammatory speeches at Amsterdam and at Hague. She met with no response in Holland, however, because the French language was not understood, and, moreover, Anarchism had not yet taken root in Holland.

In the course of the last year (1883), the exhibition at Amsterdam, to which the Socialist Party of Workers of France had sent a number of delegates, gave rise to the establishment of close relations between the Socialists of both countries, while the opening of the Parliament, taking place soon after, offered a welcome opportunity for the display of Socialistic demonstrations in favour of universal suffrage. In consequence of the agitation zealously carried on by speeches and pamphlets, Socialistic societies are now everywhere to exist in all the larger towns, although a few years ago there were only two (at Hague and at Amsterdam), and the "meine Niederländische Arbeiterverein" is said to be also less tinged with Socialism.

Into Denmark the "International" entered in the year 1882, and is said to have numbered soon after several thousand members. Already in the following year, however, the excesses of their leaders led to the commencement of a prosecution for high treason, which ended in the condemnation to several years' imprisonment, and, at the same time, in the official dissolution of the party. Only toward the end of the last decade agitation began to move again, and as in other countries, here, two divergent tendencies showed themselves, a party of reform, which united its adherents in the "Sozial-

kratischen Forbund" with the party paper of Copenhagen, *Sosialdemokraten*, and an out-and-out revolutionary party, which, still in the year 1881, was editing at Copenhagen an ultra-revolutionary paper, *Herolden*, which, meanwhile, however, seems to have been suspended in consequence of the numerous convictions for insults to royalty, incitement to murder, revolt, etc.

Latterly the party Congress of the German Social Democrats, held at Copenhagen, has lent a special vivacity to the Socialistic agitation, and to a more intimate connection of the various tendencies, so that, for instance, the daily circulation of the party organ of Copenhagen rose to 12,000 copies, and the electoral victory at Hamburg called forth the most lively expressions of sympathy on the part of the Danes.

The industrial movement also, which it brought under our notice by numerous strikes in the course of last year (1883), is coming more to the front, and has issued since the beginning of the year a paper of its own, *Der Neue Sozialist*. It is still worth mentioning that latterly, with the introduction of a Bill for provision against age, the Danish Government also has entered on the path of social political reforms, and has spread out vistas of further steps in this department.

In Scandinavia Socialism has hitherto been able to celebrate no triumphs, because the deeply religious mind of the people still offers a strong safeguard; moreover, the industrial Proletariat is comparatively little developed, and is still under the influence of the ideas of Schultze-Delitzsch. The Socialistic agitation emanating from Denmark and Germany has, nevertheless, taken its course into these countries also, and has already resulted here and there, especially in the larger towns, in the formation of Socialistic groups, who meanwhile, however, only drag out a weary existence. They make the attainment of universal suffrage their immediate aim, in order to lead before long the whole Proletariat, united in an organized party, to political and social emancipation. For the purpose of active propaganda for this programme a special party organ, after several vain attempts, was founded in January of this year, which, under the title of *Folksviljan* (Will of the people), is to appear weekly at Malmö until further notice.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY.

IN Spain the "International" first gained ground s revolution of September, 1868, and soon a numerous adherents at Barcelona, Madrid, Cordova, Cadiz, and other places, so that it nu already at the end of 1869 about two hundred sections, wit 20,000 members, and was able to hold its first cong Barcelona, the Spanish Manchester, and chief centre Socialistic movement, in June, 1870, when the Spanish Fed was constituted. When the Paris insurrection in the year ing made the dangers arising from the "International" to all, the Spanish Government submitted to the Cortes a of legislation directed against their revolutionary movemer as this was not accepted, they issued a circular in February to all the governors of the provinces in which the "Interna was declared to be excluded from civil rights and subject penal code, because by denying God, State, property, and it had proved itself the enemy of the safety of the count the violator of public safety. Since to the vigilance authorities were added internal dissensions, which bro openly at the already mentioned General Congress at Hagt to 9th September, 1872), because of the attitude of B and the Spanish and Belgian delegates who supported hi which resulted in the dissolution of the "Internationa Spanish organization too quickly fell into decay and oblivio

It was only the attempts made on the life of the K October, 1878, and December, 1879, by alleged members "International," which again attracted attention to the S and it was then discovered that the doctrines of Socialis

meanwhile been very widely spread. Especially the industrial Proletariat of Catalonia and the rural population of Andalusia was strongly affected, since in the former district the frequent industrial crises, in the latter the extremely unfavourable agrarian relations, often made even worse by drought, inundations, and bad harvests, had prepared a very receptive ground for the fallacies of Communism. Within this party two different tendencies became apparent. Both kept in view the emancipation of the Fourth Estate as their final aim, but while the one section hoped to attain this by legal methods through political action, the other looked on force as the only means to this end. It is true that these different views had as yet attained no conscious distinction, as, moreover, no coherent organization existed any longer. The London International Congress in July, 1881, at which Spain was also represented, was the first event to clear up and enliven this state of things. In consequence of the impulse received from this, the thorough-going Socialists, or, as they call themselves by preference, the "Anarchists," called a "National Congress" at Barcelona (24th to 25th September, 1881), at which one hundred and forty delegates were present, and the party programme and the system of organization were devised, on the basis of which the "Spanish Federation of the International Workmen's Association" was called into existence. Their final object is the complete (*i.e.*, the political, economical, and social) emancipation of the whole working class by the establishment of a State based on Collectivist principles, and guaranteeing the absolute autonomy of the free, federalistically united communes; for this end the violent overthrow of the present untenable social and political order by the Proletariat, organized in unison for this purpose, is to serve as a means, every legal political method of action being at the outset rejected as certain to be useless. In consequence of this, and justly recognising that Socialism can only become capable of action if it knows how to make itself master of the Trades Unions, and with them of the great industrial population, the party was organized in two ways, being based firstly on a trade, secondly on a territorial system, and each supplementing the other. The first organization is built up within each Trades Union from the several

local groups (sections) of the same urban or rural district into local alliances, these again into provincial ones, and finally into an alliance of the whole country (Union) ; and these different alliances find in the monthly, quarterly, and yearly conferences, or congresses, their means of arriving at decisions, and in the respective committees the power of carrying them out. Side by side with this purely trade organization develops the Socialistic one, by uniting all the local trade alliances of the same district into a united local society, all these local into provincial societies, and the latter into a national land union of the above-mentioned Federation, in which, corresponding to the trade organization, local, provincial, and national congresses and committees act as a means for forming and carrying out decisions. Thus the Socialistic organization includes the whole of the trade organization, imparts to the latter to a certain extent the greater power for the purpose of a united social political action, and gains for itself a firm and broad basis. The principle at the foundation of this must be regarded as very cleverly chosen, for centralising as it is *upwards*, and decentralising *downwards*, it allows free movement to each single factor in its own circle, and yet makes at all times a united action of the whole possible. The Anarchists lay all the greater stress on the trade organization since they consider it called upon to enter into the inheritance of the present social order and to form the basis for their State of the future, for, in accordance with their conception, the administrative authorities of the "future" are to be elected from the above-mentioned committees. They therefore direct the greatest attention to the trade organization, and especially seek to bring about a more rational treatment of strikes (recognised as an excellent means for agitation) by directing every Trades Union to establish a strike-fund of its own, and from this to support those strikes only by a fixed taxation that are declared by decision of the trade organization to concern the party. As the national committee that had been instituted at the Congress displayed at once a most zealous agitation, already at the second Congress of the party, which was held on the 24th to 26th September, 1882, at Sevilla, attended by two hundred and fifty-four delegates, most astonishing results could be affirmed ; the "Federation" mustered

already ten provincial, two hundred and nine local societies, and six hundred and thirty-two sections, with 50,000 members; the official party paper, appearing weekly at Madrid, *Revista Social*, numbered more than 10,000 subscribers, although special local papers had also been founded in all the larger and moderate-sized towns; the subscription fund of the party could show an annual income of 600,000 francs; and besides the ten Socialistic provincial congresses, eight national trade congresses had also been held, where the respective Trades Unions had been constituted while being at the same time united to the Federation. Extremely satisfied with these results, it was decided to pursue the method which had been begun still further. If, however, the Congress of last year, which met from the 4th to 7th October, 1883, at Valencia, with only one hundred and twenty delegates, could not report similar successes, and showed itself compared with its predecessors most peaceable, this, apart from the control which the authorities had exercised, might be traced to the fact that the Anarchists had seriously to suffer from the persecution of the authorities on account of the agrarian terrorism set in motion by the Andalusian secret society "Mano Negra" (Black Hand), because the Anarchist groups had at first frequently been identified with that band of brigands. The investigations, however, showed no sufficient ground for this assumption, and the numerous Anarchists that had been imprisoned were released. The Anarchist Federation itself had indignantly denied having any connection with the "secret proceedings of those assassins" by a distinct appeal to the legality of their organization and agitation, urging that they had a legal code and were acting quite openly. The Congress repeated this declaration, advocated among other things the social improvement of the rural and industrial Proletariat by changing the large landownerships into peasant holdings and the introduction of a normal working day of eight hours; and it was resolved not to hold the next National Congress until May, 1885, at Madrid, but to call in September, 1884, an international congress of Anarchists to Barcelona.

After all, these agrarian excesses, which can chiefly be traced back to the local abuses already mentioned, and bear a desperate likeness to the excesses committed in Ireland some time ago, as

well as the extraordinarily quick development of the Anarchist societies, seem in Spain also to have caused the social question to be considered.

It is rumoured, at least, that the present misery of the Proletariat is to be met by the commencement of numerous public works, and that before long a more effective solution of the social question is to be prepared by the introduction of small peasant holdings and the establishment of Trades Unions. Already by royal decree of the 5th of December, 1883, a commission with comprehensive propositions was nominated, which is to examine closely into the social evils, and with the concurrence of representatives of the industrial and rural Proletariat, the results are to be set forth in form of a petition with corresponding proposals for legal reform, which latter are shortly to be submitted to the Cortes for decision thereon.

The moderate Socialists separated from the Anarchists when these had openly declared themselves a revolutionary party, and made several, though unsuccessful, attempts to found an independent party of reform. Only in August, 1882, they succeeded in calling a national congress at Barcelona, where one hundred and fifty-two societies were represented by one hundred and twenty-three delegates, and there, on the basis of a party programme, agreeing in its essence with the French minimal programme, and of an organization similarly connected with the Trades Unions as that of the Anarchists, in calling into life the "Social Democratic Working Men's Party of Spain." This party aims at the emancipation of the Fourth Class by legal means, inasmuch as they hope to attain the reforms that will lead to the socialization of the means of production by an independent class policy, based on universal and direct suffrage. Therefore, in order to awaken the indispensable class-consciousness, the education of the present day, which, as was alleged, was more stupefying than enlightening, should above all be replaced by obligatory, free, and secular general instruction of head, hand, and body, and the pecuniary condition of the Proletariat be raised not only by strikes, which on the whole were not recommendable, but by the immediate adoption of the most urgent reforms in the economic department, by shortening of the working hours, reform of women's,

children's, and prison work, of the system of inspecting the factories, introduction of insurance against sickness, accidents, and infirmity, etc.

This tendency, which was represented at the International Conference at Paris (29th of October, 1883) by two delegates, has its strongholds at Madrid and at Barcelona, where its party paper, the *Obrero*, appears. It makes only slow progress, however, and a real improvement is scarcely to be expected, since the propaganda of the Anarchists is certainly more in sympathy with the revolutionary-inclined disposition of the people, for it was by Spanish delegates that the Anarchist cause was represented, at the congresses held at Hague and at London, with most especial emphasis and success.

In Portugal, whose capital counted a few sections of the "International" at the beginning of the last decade, Socialism has only made itself known towards the end of the last decade, but, excepting Lisbon and Oporto, it has gained but small adherence, owing no doubt partly to the small development of industry, partly to the low standard of education of the labouring population. Thus the last party Congress, held in February, 1882, at Lisbon, was only attended by twelve delegates, who represented altogether eight societies. Consequently for the immediate future no particular attention need be paid to the Socialistic movement in Portugal, which on the whole keeps the same object in view as the moderate section in Spain.

Into Italy the "International" had penetrated shortly before 1870, especially at Genoa, Milan, Naples, and Rome, and by 1871 is said to have attained to the number of 10,000 members. If, according to this computation, its distribution was somewhat restricted, this might be attributed (without taking into account the low state of culture of the population which was chiefly engaged in agriculture) partly to the mutual opposition of Marx and Mazzini, partly to the circumstance that Socialism, Republicanism, Irridentism ran through each other, and consequently these different ideas were not satisfied by the organization of the International, which kept one object in view. The Government therefore seemed to attribute no particular importance to the latter, and contented itself with issuing a circular to the various

local authorities when at the beginning of the last decade events in Paris found some echo in Italy. Then passed a number of years without the International giving any signs of life or of mention. However, this peace was only apparent, for inquiries instituted in consequence of Passanante's attempt on the life of the King (16th of November, 1878) showed that Socialism had in the meantime become very widely spread in the whole of Northern Italy, especially in Romagna and in Tuscany. In consequence of this many foreign agitators were expelled from the country, and the native agitation was submitted to a careful control; thus, too, the National Congress called for the 1st of May, 1880, at Milan, to constitute a "Socialistic Workers' Party of Italy," was at once forbidden.

When the Socialists found themselves thus hindered in their direction in their agitation, they sought to unite themselves under the flag of universal suffrage, which was the first object of contention, to the other sections of the opposition, who were already actively agitating for it, since they considered this a preliminary step to the attainment of a republic within which their social demands would be acceded to without further difficulty. With this idea numerous local congresses were held in the provinces, and a national congress was called at Rome on the 10th of February, 1881, at which the chair was offered to Garibaldi, and at which about 1,200 Republican, Democratic, Irridentistic, and Socialist societies were represented. The result of this monster meeting was a resolution openly aiming at the establishment of a republic, and containing among other things the following :-

"The basis of the new national right is the sovereignty of the people! It is the duty of the democracy to reconquer it. Therefore the people must put itself in possession of universal suffrage as the fundamental right from which the constitution of a new phase of Italian life, namely the proclamation of the republic, must proceed."

When, in the following year (1882), the longed-for Franco-German Bill was finally passed, the Socialistic movement became extremely active. At its head stood the well-known agitator and deputy Andrea Costa, who, by means of a Socialistic press, which was cropped up everywhere, sought to gain admittance for his id

every direction. Thus, in innumerable articles which declared that the social revolution was indeed inevitable, but could not be obtained by one blow, the necessity was urged of incessant and energetic propaganda, and therefore of making the best of the new Franchise Bill by universal participation in elections, when the occasion was suitable in connection with the Radical parties ; but above all else the formation of a firm party organization by the union of the separate sections into provincial societies, these to an Italian Socialist party, and the combination of this with the international movement, was declared absolutely imperative. This teaching fell on no infertile soil ; everywhere social revolutionary committees were formed, which, by distributing pamphlets, sending agitators abroad, and arranging meetings, developed an almost burning activity, and in several provinces of Northern Italy the constitution of the respective district societies was begun. Having agreed upon a programme for election, corresponding in all important points with the French minimal programme, they nominated candidates of their own in thirteen out of the hundred and thirty-five electoral districts, while in others the Republican candidates were supported. The Socialists succeeded in carrying two of their candidates, one of whom was Costa, who had been nominated at Ravenna, the Socialist centre of agitation, and also a working men's candidate, whom the section at Milan, the head-quarters of the rising " Italian Working Men's party," had put up. On the whole, the Socialistic candidates had gained for themselves about 50,000 votes, without counting those which had fallen to the Republican candidates. At the opening of Parliament the question was warmly discussed whether the Socialistic candidates should take the parliamentary oath or refuse to do so ; finally, however, the opinion prevailed that the taking of the oath was to be considered a mere formality, and it was judged more to the interest of the party if the deputies endeavoured to promote Socialism from the tribune of Parliament and elsewhere by making use of their free pass on the railway, than by losing their mandates and the advantages arising therefrom through refusing to take the oath. It was only in accordance with this spirit that the Socialist deputies entirely stood aloof from the Government proposals for social and political reform in respect

of employers' liability, insurance against accidents, strikes, arbitration, incorporation of workmen's associations, etc., "because no truly social reform could really be expected from the existing Government," and Costa was expressly requested by his constituents to assert this view in Parliament on every possible occasion. It appears, however, that the Socialists will receive energetic support from the party of Democrats and a portion of the Workmen's Party, for the former, at a "National Congress" held at the beginning of August, 1883, at Bologna, by the delegates of several hundred societies, have constituted themselves an organized local and provincial "Democratic Union," in order to bring about the political and social regeneration of Italy on the basis of a moderate Radical and distinctly Socialistic programme; they have, moreover, already chosen Costa into their "Central Committee," while the last Congress of Workmen in Lombardy (16th to 17th of September, 1883, at Varese) met the first step of the Government in the direction of social reform with distrust and opposition, and among other things, demanded universal suffrage for men and women also at the administrative elections; thus, too, the general idea of political and social emancipation and international fraternity of the Proletariat of Italy is promoted in every possible way by a working men's paper, *Il Fascio Operaio* (The Union Workers), founded shortly before at Milan. It was just the question of the extension of the administrative franchise which gave the three parties an opportunity of developing throughout the country a most active agitation, which is zealously supported by the respective party organs, the *Fascio Operaio*, just mentioned, the Socialistic *Comune* (at Ravenna), and the *Fascio della Democrazia* (Union of Democrats, at Rome), and which has, since the end of last year (1883), been supplemented by a most violent campaign against the above-mentioned proposals for reform.

The attempts to inaugurate a national congress, in order to unite the different district societies into a national association and to form closer international relations, have not succeeded as yet, far, and a congress called at Ravenna, in August, 1883, for the purpose of discussing this question, was dissolved because the Government insisted on supervising the proceedings, and to this the leading members would not submit. It was not till the

18th of November that some fifty deputies of as many places in Romagna met at a congress at Forlì, definitely decided on programme, statutes, and tactics of the party, whereby special weight was laid on the independent organization of the Proletariat and their participation in all political and administrative elections, and the preparations of a "Socialist National Congress" were entrusted to the "Central Commission," domiciled at Ravenna, as well as those for the "International Congress," which, according to the resolution of the above-mentioned Conference at Paris (29th of October to 2nd of November, 1883), on the proposal of Costa, is to be held on the occasion of the Exhibition at Turin (1884).

The "Anarchists," who received their instructions from abroad, especially from Switzerland and from London, had separated from the moderate Socialists already, in 1880, and in contrast with them, at a congress held secretly at Chiasso (in December, 1880), which united the delegates of fifteen towns of Northern Italy, they declared for Anarchistic communism, condemned taking part of any kind at any of the elections as corruptive, and stated that it was necessary "to make use of every opportunity for seriously disturbing public order." Consequently, in the following year, by their countrymen and adherents Malatesta and Cafiero, which latter had completely sacrificed his not inconsiderable fortune to the objects of the party, they took a prominent part in the organization and the proceedings of the London Congress, and endeavoured by carrying out the resolutions there passed, through secret but energetic agitation, to gain numerous adherents. They also recalled those two agitators from London when the increasing influence of the moderate Socialists threatened to snatch from them the leadership of the revolutionary movement, and it was Malatesta especially who at once took up arms against Costa, on the ground that he, by entering Parliament, had made the party a "legitimate" one, and had "thus betrayed it to the bourgeoisie." His activity, however, was soon stopped by his imprisonment, in May, 1883, at Florence, and since the researches instigated at Florence, Rome, and Naples led to the discovery that the formation of secret groups had already begun, in order to carry out the London programme in Italy, Malatesta, with several accomplices, was condemned by the Roman Court, on the 1st of

February, 1884, to several years' imprisonment. It is rumoured that the conspirators had also planned to give a clear expression of their discontent with the existing state of things by dynamite outrages. This appears the more probable since such proceedings would have been quite in accordance with the tactics of the Anarchists, to whom the festivities of the anniversary of the Roman Republic and of the Paris Commune, of the name-days of Garibaldi and of Mazzini, the conviction of comrades, strikes, and similar occasions, afforded always a welcome opportunity to incite the masses to acts of violence. Thus they had especially tried to use for their purposes the demonstrations which had everywhere been organized by all the Radical parties on account of the execution of the Irridentist Oberdank, who was guilty of high treason on the 20th of December, 1882, so that the Government saw itself compelled to issue a circular, according to which all movements of that kind, whether Irridentist, Socialistic, Anarchist, or International, should be prosecuted as rigidly as possible. Nevertheless the movement has up till now shown no signs of cessation, as was proved as late as the autumn of 1883 by the disturbances which took place in various parts of Romagna, although more considerable outrages have apparently not yet happened.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

IN Austria Socialism took firm root only shortly before the year 1870, when the limitations of the old law of combination fell to the ground and industry received a fresh impulse ; and it has since made continuous progress. Nevertheless, it has not succeeded in forming a firm and united party, because the manifold national and political differences, the hitherto comparatively little developed industry (if we except a few districts in Bohemia, Moravia, and Lower Austria), and the energetic persecution by the authorities, produce most unfavourable conditions, which are still considerably increased by internal dissensions. When shortly after, at a secret congress held at Vienna (1875), with the help of the German Socialist party, the outlines of the programme of the "Socialist Working Men's Party of Austria," had scarcely been established, so much cliquism began to assert itself that at the Congress at Atzgersdorf (near Vienna, 1877), it was decided to remove the central direction to Reichenberg, or rather Graz, and it was not till three years later (when the most excited members had meanwhile preferred, in consequence of the great prosecutions of Socialists at Vienna, Cracow, and Lemberg, to exchange in time their residence in the Austrian capital for Zürich, London, and Paris) that the Conference of delegates at Julienfelde (near Brünn, 1880) thought it advisable to remove the central committee back to Vienna. At the same time the party passed a resolution to maintain the strictest neutrality in the dispute between the defenders of the Zürich paper *Sozialdemocrat* and the London *Freiheit*, which, under the personal influence of eminent German representatives of both tendencies, had become

extremely violent ; thus, too, the choice of taking part in the Swiss or London " International Congress " was to be left open. Nevertheless, the differences constantly increased, and to this, among other causes, the event of the Merstallinger outrage (July, 1882) contributed in a considerable degree, so that the " Allgemeiner Arbeitertag at Brünn," attended by forty-four delegates (15th and 16th of October, 1882), expressed a distinct vote of disapproval towards the Anarchist minority. An open breach was, however, even now avoided by the rejection, after an excited debate, of a motion to that effect, viz. :—

1. The Merstallinger outrage is declared a mean and cowardly crime, and the attempt to identify the criminals with the Socialists is repudiated.

2. The tactics advocated by the Anarchists of contending by every means are unworthy of, and dangerous to, Social Democracy, and those who favour these tactics are declared enemies and traitors of the cause of the people.

In a similar manner the movement in Hungary (where the Socialists constituted themselves at a congress of the whole country held at Pesth on the 16th and 17th of May, 1880, and attended by one hundred and ten delegates, a " General Workmen's Party of Hungary ") has been considerably impeded by party strife of a like kind. Consequently, the Austrian-Hungarian movement is still in a sifting process, which the German Social Democrats have left behind them since the separation of the Anarchist elements, and in the causes already mentioned, as well as in the absence of prominent leaders able to govern the divergent tendencies, the chief reason may be found why the Austrian-Hungarian Socialists have to show comparatively small results.

As to the various characteristic distinctions between the so-called " Moderates " and the " Radical party," the following may be mentioned as the principal ones :—

The moderate party, *i.e.*, the real Social Democrats, agitate for a programme which, in its essential principles, corresponds with the German Gotha and the French minimal programme, and hope to carry their demands by means of universal and direct franchise. Thus, too, they recently appeared by no means unfavourable to the proposals for social and political reform made by the

Government, which, in the spring of 1883, instituted a careful inquiry into the social evils, and which has already prepared a scheme of insurance against accidents. They endeavour, therefore, to organize themselves under a central direction into local and district societies, and to spread their principles by means of a zealous agitation by speech and writing as much as possible. Roughly speaking, the Social Democrats represent the German element; they have their centre at Brünn, and a not inconsiderable number of adherents in Silesia, Moravia, Upper Austria, Tyrol, as well as in a few Bohemian (northern) and Hungarian (Transylvanian) districts; as party organs they issue at Brünn the *Volksfreund* and *Spravedlnost*, at Reichenberg the *Arbeiterfreund*, at Vienna the *Truth*, and at Pesth the *Arbeiterwochen-Chronik* and *Nepszara*. With foreign countries, especially with Switzerland, they maintain the same relations as the German party, and the *Sozialdemocrat* of Zürich enjoys a not inconsiderable circulation.

The Radical party, on the other hand, has already completely changed into an Anarchist one. They declare war to the knife against everything existing, and declare *every* means legitimate in this war of annihilation, as may be gathered from the transactions of the Merstallinger trial, and which has received convincing confirmation from the murder of the two policemen at Vienna (15th December, 1883, and 24th of January, 1884); they, therefore, declare themselves in favour of the secret action of terrorism, prefer the federalistic system of groups divided into separate provinces to the centralising organization, and by the extensive distribution of revolutionary pamphlets, by inciting the masses at strikes and other occasions, seek to carry their subversive ideas into practice as far as possible. It need hardly be said that they maintain a thoroughly hostile attitude towards the ideas of social and political reform, "with which the clerical-feudal party is only trying to dupe the workers in order shortly to play them off against the remaining parties," and they direct against the moderate party on account of their different attitude the most violent attacks, so that a definite and formal separation of the two sections may shortly be expected, especially as the Anarchists have already held a secret conference of delegates of their own at

Lanz-Enzersdorf, near Vienna, on the 26th and 27th of October, 1883, in which the above-mentioned programme was unanimously adopted, and the recent events at Vienna evidently hasten the process of separation. The Anarchists derive their chief contingent from the Czecho-Slavonic element. They have their principal force at Vienna, predominate at Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, as well as in the coal districts of Bohemia, in Galicia, and several Hungarian towns (as Pressburg, Oedenburg, Agram, Semlin, Temesvar, and others); and after their recent expulsion from Vienna, they dispute the leadership with the moderate party at Pesh, since their former centres at Prague have been considerably weakened by numerous convictions during the past two years. The organs of their party are, or rather were, at Vienna the *Zukunft* and *Delni-cke listy*, which were only suppressed by reason of the exceptional state of siege; at Pesh the *Radical* and *Nep-akarta*; at Reichenberg the *Radikale*; at Prague the *Sozialist* and *Kommunist*, which have both been discontinued for the present on account of the above-mentioned trials; at Lemberg the *Praca* (Labour); and at Cracow the *Robotnik* (Worker), besides the *Przedswit* (Dawn), introduced from Switzerland. Their communication with foreign countries is, however, by no means limited to Switzerland, and to the circulation of literature printed there; but they maintain active intercourse with Paris, London, and New York, which is proved by the not inconsiderable circulation of the *Freiheit* and the appearance of different secret agents, who had been sent quite recently, in order to assist the Anarchists in their struggle against the moderate party, both by advice and action.

The Anarchists until lately had certainly an advantage in this struggle, since they possessed in the person of the painter Peukert, more than sufficiently known through the Merstallinger trial and by his inflammatory speeches recently made in Switzerland, the last editor at Vienna of the *Zukunft* and the former delegate at the London Congress, a most able defender of their cause, while the moderate party had lost their most intelligent leaders by their removing to Zürich, so that the *Zukunft* nearly doubled its number of subscribers, at the expense of the *Wahrheit*, within a few months. It is said, however, that the moderate

party has the promise of ready support from the German Social Democrats in this dilemma, and as the renewed intercourse with Zürich will confirm still more this mutual connection, the moderate party will probably find in the future a not inconsiderable support in this. Nevertheless, and in spite of their minority, the Anarchists, with tactics such as we have described, and with their greater energy (of which the very numerous trials for high treason, secret societies, public outrage, unlawful carrying of arms, etc., at Vienna, Graz, Prague, Cracow, Lemberg, Brünn, Olmütz, and other places, and the recent events at Vienna give clear proof), are undoubtedly by far the most dangerous element, especially since the repeated disturbances among the workmen at Vienna, in the Bohemian coal districts and other industrial centres, the anti-Semitic excesses in Hungary, the Irridentistic demonstrations in Istria, and latterly the national separationist disturbances in Croatia, prove unmistakably that among the masses there is a not inconsiderable ferment which under the influence of Anarchist movements might easily become dangerous. The two Anarchistic murders at Vienna, following shortly upon each other, and announced for some time previous by the Anarchist press, leave no doubt with regard to the magnitude and proximity of the danger, and thus the Government saw itself compelled to oppose it in time by suitable measures. As is well known, by a decree of the whole Ministry of the 30th of January, 1884, and in accordance with the laws of the 5th of May, 1869, and the 23rd of May, 1873 (see text below), "the exceptional state of siege" was imposed on Vienna and the neighbourhood, according to which Articles 9, 10, 12, 13, of the Fundamental Law of the Constitution of the 21st of December, 1867, were temporarily, and the employment of jury courts were in reference to certain crimes and offences, suspended until the 31st of December, 1884. The substance of what the Government has published in further defence of these measures is essentially as follows :—

"For some time back the foreign social revolutionary press has been endeavouring to arouse discontent and hatred among the industrial population in Austria.

"When Johann Most first published in the autumn of 1879 in

London (now at New York) the paper *Freiheit*, the distribution of which in Germany and Austria-Hungary is carried out by every means which cunning could devise, and defended in it the idea that the workers of all countries can obtain an improvement of their condition only by the violent destruction of the existing order of state and society, only by the annihilation of private property, and by the abolition of all distinctions of class and rank, there were developed also among the Austrian proletariat tendencies which are seeking to launch a not inconsiderable portion thereof on a revolutionary career.

"By inflammatory publications, of which many thousands of copies have been distributed among the masses as leaflets on the most various occasions, the ground has been gradually undermined, and under the influence of agitators, secret clubs have been organized among the workers.

"In the year 1881 the *Freiheit* and other publications of this party began urgently to recommend the study of chemistry to the workers, and to bring it home to them with what success dynamite could be made use of in the struggle against society, and to advise them not to shrink from committing murder, arson, and pillage. These continuous incitements to open violence bore fruit already at the end of the year 1881.

"On the 4th of December, 1881, at the Hotel 'Zum Grünen Jaeger,' at Vienna, the police inspector Kadlec, while dissolving a meeting in which revolutionary speeches were made, was violently assaulted and seriously wounded. A portion of the workers, who were prudent enough to recognise the pernicious influence of revolutionary tactics, constituted themselves a section of moderate tendencies, but in consequence of continuous and violent persecution and the employment of threats, its development has had but little success, since the Anarchists try to raise prejudices in the harshest manner against all attempts to improve the condition of the Proletariat by legislative measures, denouncing them as mere palliatives, in the face of which only the complete subversion of society was to be aimed at. By speech and writing the worst passions of the workers have been systematically stirred up, and among a large portion of them a feeling of contempt for every moral and lawful command has been awakened.

"Already in the year 1882 the felonious outrage committed on the shoemaker Merstallinger showed how far this pernicious agitation had spread. The most influential and most dangerous speakers of the Anarchist party were by reason of this crime, committed with unusual daring on the 4th of July, 1882, and on account of disturbances amounting to high treason, subjected to judicial inquiry. Since the settlement of this trial the revolutionary propaganda has been carried on with all the greater energy among the masses. Inspired by fresh courage, distinctly visible confidence, and by a series of disgraceful outrages, the Anarchist party, on the one hand, gives signs of life; on the other hand, it shows how far the Anarchist theories have already practically been realized. The attitude of their members is continually becoming bolder and more hostile to the authorities, and more and more reckless are the utterances of the party press; Most exults in No. 18 of the *Freiheit* in the attitude of the 'comrades' at Vienna, and illustrates the final aims of the Anarchists with the words, 'If the world of to-day cannot be unhinged, it will be blown up with dynamite.'

"The agitators consider it of supreme importance to strengthen the workers in their hatred of society, and they established a secret press, the productions of which form the most effective means in this direction. With the title 'First Free Press of Cisleithania,' there lately appeared inflammatory publications which found large circulation at Vienna and in the provinces. Those of the leaders of the Bohemian working men that were allied with the German members proclaimed at the same time, in a Bohemian paper, that it had been produced in the 'První srobočná tiskárna v Čechách' (first free printing press of Bohemia).

"On the 10th of August, 1883, numerous adherents of the Anarchist party committed a street riot through trifling provocation before the official building of the police-direction; and it could be stopped only by the immediate and most energetic interference of the authorities. A widely distributed publication incites to 'deeds,' and closes with the words, 'Down with all tyrants and their flunkies! Down with all exploiters and deceivers of the people!' No. 34 of the *Freiheit*, of the 25th

of August, 1883, mentions, with regard to the distribution of this publication, that 'the people of Vienna will soon be surprised by a very different gift.'

"On the 2nd of September, 1883, a mass meeting was called. In spite of its being interdicted by the authorities, a large number of workers appeared at the place of meeting, and they were dispersed only with difficulty. Soon after, on the 6th of September of last year, the excesses were repeated on the necessary prohibition of a meeting of working men in the Paradiesgarten at Fünfhaus, from considerations of public peace and order. At these working men's meetings the police on watch were insulted, the officials who interfered were hooted, and revolutionary songs were sung.

"The discontent arising from the fact that the object aimed at was not attained by agitations of this kind, carried on in the streets, matured the plan of the leaders (who are generally known as the 'Executive Committee,' and who exert a terrorising influence in all directions, especially by means of numerous threatening communications and death warrants) of committing acts to strike terror, according to the advice published in the *Freiheit*, no longer in large numbers, but singly, and of occupying themselves for this purpose with the preparation or smuggling in of dynamite.

"These criminal intentions and plans find open expression in a new leaflet which appeared at the end of October, 1883, with both German and Bohemian text. In this the murder of police agents is directly advocated, and the most suitable tactics are explained. In consequence of these instigations, a number of working men actually united themselves for the purpose of producing dynamite; they tried to gain the assistance of a chemist for their pernicious plans, but were prevented from carrying them out by the timely interference of the authorities.

"On the 26th and 27th of October, 1883, at a secret meeting of Anarchists at Lang-Enzersdorf, of the political district Korneuburg, at which delegates from most parts of the empire took part, a new plan for action was discussed, and among other things it was resolved to use every means at their command in opposing the 'exploiters and police agents,' and by such acts of terrorism to

keep the population in constant excitement, and in every possible way to bring the revolution about.

"The murder of the copyist Hlubeck, which took place on the 15th of December, 1883, at Floridsdorf, and which was preceded by a threatening communication, is to be looked at as the fruit of this venomous seed. The condemnation—which took place here on the 23rd of January, 1884, by the Landgericht—of Johann Rouget, the leader of the party who had hidden a secret printing press, was *replied* to on the following day by the murder of the police-agent Blösch."

Decree of the Cabinet of the 30th of January, 1884, by which exceptional arrangements are made, in accordance with the law of the 5th of May, 1869 (R.-G.-Bl.* No. 66), for the judicial circuits of Vienna, Korneuburg, and Wiener-Neustadt.

"In accordance with the law of the 5th of May, 1869 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 66), and in consequence of a resolution made by the Cabinet on the 27th of January, 1884, after obtaining gracious permission, the provisions of Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 of the fundamental law of the Constitution with regard to the general rights of citizens of December 21st, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 142), are temporarily suspended with the following restrictions in the judicial circuits of Vienna, Korneuburg, and Wiener-Neustadt.

"With reference to the effects of this suspension, the following clauses of the law of the 5th of May, 1869 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 66), are put in force, namely the provisions:—

"1. of § 3, lit. *a* and *c*;

"2. of § 4;

"3. of § 5, including the restriction with regard to letters that are suspected of serving movements which endanger the public safety and the order of society;

"4. of § 6, lit. *a* and *b*;

"5. of § 7, lit. *a*, including the restriction with regard to publications endangering the public safety and the order of society,

* R.-G.-Bl. stands for Reichsgesetzblatt—official publication of laws.

also (with reference to the punishment of offences against the provisions contained therein and against the arrangements made in accordance with § 8) the provisions of § 9 of the law of the 5th of May, 1869 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 66).

"The present decree comes into force on the day of its proclamation.

"Taaffe, M.P., Ziemialkowski, M.P., Falkenhayn, M.P., Prazak M.P., Conrad, M.P., Welsersheimb, M.P., Dunajewski, M.P. Pino, M.P."

Decree of the Cabinet of the 30th of January, 1884, respecting the suspension of the efficiency of the jury courts in the judicial circuits of Vienna and Korneuburg in Lower Austria.

"In accordance with § 1 of the law of the 23rd of May 1873 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 120), the Cabinet after hearing the petition of the Supreme Court of Judicature thinks fit to decree as follows :—

"The efficiency of the jury courts is suspended from the day of proclamation of this announcement until the 31st of December, 1884, inclusive, within the judicial circuits of Vienna and Korneuburg, in Lower Austria, with regard to the following crimes and offences punishable by law and enumerated in Article 6 of the introductory law of the 23rd of May, 1873 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 119), with reference to criminal prosecution, namely :—

"Crimes and offences arising from the contents of a publication, except in cases of private prosecution (lit. A) ;

"High treason (lit. B, Z 1) ;

"Disturbance of public order (lit. B, Z 2) ;

"Sedition and revolt (lit. B, Z 3) ;

"Public acts of violence (lit. B, Z 4, lit. a, b, c) ;

"Forgery of the public credit notes (lit. B, Z 6) ;

"False coinage (lit. B, Z 7) ;

"Interference with religion (lit. B, Z 8) ;

"Murder and manslaughter, except in cases of the crime of *fanticide* (§ 139 Penal Code) (lit. B, Z 12) ;

"Severe bodily injury (lit. B, Z 15) ;

- " Arson (lit. B, Z 17) ;
- " Theft (lit. B, Z 18) ;
- " Robbery (lit. B, Z 20) ;
- " Libel (lit. B, Z 22) ;
- " Complicity with criminals (lit. B, Z 23) ;
- " Contempt of the orders of the authorities and instigation (lit. B, Z 24) ;
- " Incitement to hostilities (lit. B, Z 25) ;
- " Taaffe, M.P., Ziemalkowski, M.P., Falkenhayn, M.P., Prazak, M.P., Conrad, M.P., Welsersheimb, M.P., Dunajewski, M.P., Pino, M.P."

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of the 5th of May, 1869, No. 66 of the Reichsgesetzblatt, by which the right of the responsible authorities of making temporary and local exceptions to the existing laws is determined.

§ 1.

In case of war, as well as at times when the outbreak of military operations is imminent, also in case of internal disturbances, as well as at times when highly treasonable movements or such as otherwise threaten the Constitution or endanger public safety appear temporarily and locally, and in accordance with the present law (based on Article 20 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st December, 1867, R.-G.-B. No. 142, with reference to the general rights of citizens), the provisions of articles 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 of this fundamental law of the Constitution may be completely or partially suspended ; further, in accordance with § 8 and § 9 of the present law, exceptional regulations for the joint execution of the orders of the police and administration, these exceptional regulations (as far as nothing is provided to the contrary in this law) can be put in force only in accordance with a decree of the Cabinet after obtaining the consent of the Emperor. These regulations must be published as this law directs. In the proclamation the extent of the district for which the exceptional regulations will have force must be accurately set forth.

§ 2.

If, in accordance with § 1 of the present law, Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the

21st of December, 1867, R.-G.-Bl. No. 142, or any of them, are suspended, the provisions of the following §§ 3 to 7 will be put in force, unless these provisions are not expressly restricted in the enactment to less stringent measures. The enactment must contain the enumeration of those articles of the fundamental law of the Constitution which are suspended and the mention of those provisions of the present law which regulate the force of the suspension. The enactment must be proclaimed in the Reichsgesetzblatt, and must be printed in the official newspaper of the country in which the district, for which this enactment is in force, lies.

§ 3.

The suspension of Article 8 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st of December, 1867, R.-G.-Bl. No. 142, has the effect that :—

- A. The space of forty-eight hours determined in § 4 of the law of the 21st of October, 1862, R.-G.-Bl. No. 87, is increased to eight days in cases when the agents of the public authorities have without magisterial orders imprisoned a person on suspicion of a punishable offence.
- B. In the case of persons arrested on the charge of committing any of the punishable offences mentioned in the appendix to this law, release on bail or security cannot be permitted, (§§ 7 to 10 of the law of the 27th October, 1862, R.-G.-Bl. No. 87).
- C. Persons who endanger the public order can be expelled by the police from the district of suspension or from a place in this district unless they are natives of that place or of that district ; further, that persons who are natives of a place or of a district may be ordered by the police not to leave this place without the permission of the authorities.

§ 4.

The suspension of Article 9 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st of December, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 142), has the effect that for the better punishment of crimes, the *searching* of a house may be ordered by the police without

magisterial orders in the case of the punishable offences enumerated in the appendix of this law.

§ 5.

If Article 10 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st of December, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 142), is suspended, the confiscation and opening of letters is permitted even when it is not a case of house-searching or arrest and without magisterial orders.

§ 6.

The suspension of Art. 12 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st of December, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 142), has the effect :—

A. That societies or branch societies which are included in the provisions of the law of the 15th of November, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 134), may no longer be formed without the consent of the authorities, and that the political authorities may make the temporary activity of such already-existing societies or the continuation of this activity and the holding of meetings dependent on certain conditions. The activity of societies of other kinds is unaffected by this. The political authorities may, however, send to their sittings and meetings an agent who is empowered to close the sitting or meeting when the discussion extends to subjects which are beyond the legitimate sphere of the Society. The authorities may also stop the proposing by resolutions by which the Society goes beyond its legitimate sphere.

B. That meetings coming under § 2 of the law of the 15th of November, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 135), may on no account be held, and meetings and demonstrations coming under §§ 4 and 5 of the above-mentioned law only by consent of the political authorities.

§ 7.

By the suspension of Art. 13 of the fundamental law of the Constitution of the 21st December, 1867 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 142), the authorities are empowered :—

A. To stop the appearance or distribution of printed matter and to prohibit its being sent by post and temporarily

to stop the carrying on of trades which by the multiplication of literary or artistic productions or by trading with the same, endanger the public order.

- B. To fix, for the sending of the required copies referred to by § 17 of the law relating to the press, a space of time, which in the case of periodical publications may be extended to three hours, in the case of other publications to eight days before the day of issue.

§ 8.

With the suspension of Arts. 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 of the fundamental law of the Constitution, or of any one or more of them, restrictive police regulations may be issued together :—

- A. With regard to the production, sale, possession, and carrying of arms and ammunition ;
- B. With regard to the matter of passports and registration of strangers ;
- C. With regard to behaviour in public places and large gatherings of people ;
- D. With regard to demonstrative acts and the wearing of marks of distinction.

Additionally, and in cases of urgency, such regulations may be issued even by the Landeschef. The latter, however, must immediately give information and explain his reasons to the Home Secretary ; the Cabinet must at once decide whether the regulations issued are to be continued. The regulations issued in addition are to be proclaimed in the official gazette.

§ 9.

Infringements of the order and prohibitions contained in sections 3 to 7, as well as of the regulations and orders issued by the authorities for the execution of these provisions, and the infringements of the police regulations issued in accordance with section 8, are liable (except when they incur a more severe penalty under the existing laws) to a fine or imprisonment, which, according to the circumstances of the case, may be fixed by the authorities appointed by law for this purpose to the amount of one thousand florins or to the duration of six months.

§ 10.

The exceptional regulations made in accordance with this law

are to be removed when and as far as those causes disappear which made their issue necessary. The complete or partial removal will take place on the decision of the Cabinet, and when the Emperor's consent has been obtained. The removal decided on by the Ministry is to be proclaimed by the Reichsgesetzblatt. The effects combined with these exceptional regulations in accordance with this law are to cease according to the removal of the exceptional regulations which has taken place. In the same way, too, the orders contained in the exceptional regulations and issued in accordance with this law for the execution of the orders of the police and administration are no longer necessarily combined.

§ 11.

If the Ministry has made exceptional regulations in accordance with this law, or decided on their continuation when otherwise they would cease to be in force, it must give an account of the exceptional regulations, explaining the causes to the Reichsrath, if it is sitting, at once, but in other cases at its next meeting; in either case first to the House of Deputies at its first sitting, and it must obtain the decision of the Reichsrath.

§ 12.

This law will come into force on the day of proclamation; on the same day the imperial decree of the 7th October, 1868 (R.-G.-Bl. No. 136), will cease to be in force. The Cabinet is entrusted with the carrying out of this law of the 23rd May, 1873, No. 120, R.-G.-Bl., with regard to the temporary suspension of the jury courts.

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of the 23rd of May, 1873, No. 120 Reichsgesetzblatt, with regard to the temporary suspension of the jury courts.

§ 1.

The efficiency of the jury courts may be postponed temporarily, and for a period not exceeding one year, in a given district with regard to all the punishable offences to be submitted to it, or any one or more of them, if in that district events have taken place which seem to make this appear necessary in order to secure impartial and independent verdicts.

The suspension will be enforced in each particular place after consulting the Supreme Court of Judicature through a decree of the Cabinet, the latter being held responsible.

The Government is required to lay the decree, with an explanation of the causes, before both Houses of the Reichsrath immediately, if it is sitting, but otherwise as soon as it meets and to revoke it, as soon as one of the two Houses of Reichsrath demands this.

If the efficiency of the jury courts is suspended by a decree in a district, this suspension can neither be extended by means of a decree, nor renewed before the next re-opening of the session of the Reichsrath.

RUSSIA.

THE revolutionary movement in Russia is only of relative importance for international Socialism, because the peculiarity of the language and of the country is hostile to the spread of Socialistic ideas and movements; its influence is essentially confined to the expressions of sympathy—by no means to be underestimated, it is true—which are shown towards the Nihilistic acts of violence by the rest of the revolutionists of Europe, and to the despatch of a not inconsiderable contingent to the international revolutionary forces in London, Paris, and Switzerland, where the Russian emigrants settle by preference. In the country itself, Socialism has not been able to gain ground, because Russia, apart from the very low state of education among the masses, is predominantly an agricultural country, and in the peasant communities, moreover, the so-called *Mirs*, the patriarchal communism in the land still prevails, so that the purely Socialistic agitation found there a very limited sphere of action, and confronted with the political character of the movement, it very soon fell into the background. Various phases of this process of development may be traced.

When during the last decade but one, from the effect of the enthusiastic influence of Herz, Bakunin, Tschernyschewski, and others, the liberal tendencies became apparent in wider circles and produced their Nihilistic blossoms, the ideas of social and political emancipation were as yet unseparated, and ran in the same current, as is sufficiently proved by the programme and the activity of the then arising party of the people "*Semlja i Wolja*" (Land and Liberty). In the last decade, apparently under

the influence of the rapid growth of the "International" in all the other countries of Europe, and especially of the Paris Commune, the Socialistic character of the movement became strongly prominent, particularly in the large towns, like St. Petersburg, Moscow, Charkow, Kiew, Kasan, Odessa, until the political enthusiasts for liberty, rendered impatient by the slow advance of the movement, separated themselves from this propaganda, and by the *attentat* committed by Vera Sassulitsch on Captain Trepow (February, 1878), entered on the path of political terrorism. At the party congresses held in July and August, 1879, at Lipezk, Woronesch, and St. Petersburg, the official separation of both tendencies actually took place. The "terrorists" wished to fight firstly for political emancipation, because they were persuaded that economical freedom would then at once arise from the midst of the free people; they therefore had recourse to secret action directed expressly to the destruction of the power of the Government. The "moderate party," on the other hand, considered the time for such activity to be not yet come, and believed it necessary that the masses should first be enlightened as to their social condition by open and peaceable propaganda and thus be properly prepared for such action. The former tendency was represented by the organ *Tschorny Peredjel* (Black Division), the latter by the *Narodnaja Wolja* (Popular Will). The activity of the terrorists is well known; it began with the *attentat* on Trepow, and did not cease until the political head of the State himself was destroyed. But the longed-for success, that the peaceful revolution would now take place, did not follow, and a bitter disappointment was felt in those circles. Since they were convinced of having chosen the wrong course, it appears that for some time back the idea has taken root that it would be advisable, instead of committing useless single *attentats*, to gain the army for their subversive ideas. Perhaps the rumours which for some time have been constantly appearing of numerous arrests of officers in the most distant parts of the empire are already connected with this, as there were actually several officers committed among the "seventeen" at the recent trial of Nihilists at St. Petersburg. From this we might certainly conclude that the terrorists have already recovered from *the state* of exhaustion into which they had been thrown by the

almost incessant condemnations and deportations of the past years, and this might be indicated also among other things by the recent prolongation for another year of the so-called "extra precautions" in the two capitals and several provinces; the re-appearance of the revolutionary papers in and out of the country (for instance, *Semlja i Wolja*, *Narodnaja Wolja*, *Studentschestow*, at St. Petersburg, and *Listok Narodnoi Woli*, *Obstscheje Djelo*, *Wesnik Narodnoi Woli*, at Geneva), the latter being chiefly edited by the Nihilistic professor Lawrow; by the circulation of numerous manifestoes and leaflets, which have been issued among other places at St. Petersburg and Warsaw; the conference of Nihilistic delegates said to have been held at Strelna, near St. Petersburg, in November (1883); and finally the murder of the chief of the secret police, Lieutenant-Colonel Sudeikin, taking place on the 28th December, 1883.

The moderate party have meanwhile shaped their demands into a fixed programme, and demand among other things with regard to politics the introduction of a constitutional form of government, with provincial autonomy, and the independence of the "Mir" as an economic and administrative unit, universal suffrage, unconditional freedom of the press, of combination, and of meeting, and transformation of the standing army into a territorial one; on the other hand, with regard to social matters, the conversion of the whole land into the common property of the people and of all factories and workshops into the property of the workers. By occasion of the coronation of the Emperor in the spring of last year (1883) this programme was distributed in large numbers, and energetic propaganda for the same is being made by travelling agitators and in the party press (for instance *Wolnoje Slowo*) ("A Free Word"), which in the main is issued at Geneva under the editorship of Professor Dragomanow, who is well known in literary circles. If the aims of the party became more clear, this tendency might finally be merged in the general liberal current, especially as in Russia—more than anywhere else—it is just the most intelligent strata of society who are inclined for it.

NORTH AMERICA.

ALTHOUGH Socialism finds a particularly favourable soil in North America, since all restrictions which impede its rapid development on the Continent are absent there, the "International," nevertheless, could not found its first section at New York until the year 1867, and it was not till five years later that an American party congress was held (at New York from the 6th to the 8th of July, 1872), at which only twenty-two sections, twelve of which were German, were represented by as many delegates. For an explanation of this we may look to the fact that the great majority of the industrial classes, besides being much divided by their language and nationality, maintained a more or less hostile attitude to Socialism, because they still believed in the possibility of a reconciliation between capital and labour without abolishing the existing system; and under the influence of Trades Unionism, imported from England, they considered it needful to concentrate their activity, with the exclusion of all politics, to purely economical matters. It was not until the crisis of 1873, which culminated in the summer of 1877 in the great railway strike, that a change in this took place. The working men, who vainly tried to stem the continual lowering of wages, were driven into the arms of Socialism, and in the above-mentioned strike natives, English, Irish, Germans, French, Scandinavians, and Czechs joined in a firm union. The active Social Democracy cleverly turned this favourable state of things to account in order now to carry out the idea, which it had entertained for several years already, to unite all the working men's associations of the United States, for the purpose of emancipating the working classes, *into a national organization based on Socialistic principles.* The

necessary sentiment having been awakened by papers founded in large numbers, a "General Congress of the Working Men's Party of North America" was called at New York at Christmas, 1877. It met from the 26th to the 31st of December, was attended by forty-two delegates, and resolved on the foundation of the "Socialistic Working Men's Party of North America," based on a programme which essentially corresponds with the Gotha programme of the German Social Democracy, and besides the Socialistic principles contains certain transitional demands suited to the present state of things, many of which certainly point out the then existing state of the industrial legislation.

The words of the programme are as follows :—

1. Labour is the source of all wealth, and since productive labour is only possible in and by society, the result of labour belongs equally and uncurtailed to all the members of society.
2. The present system, under which human society is organized, is false, because it enables a small minority to amass wealth and thus to keep the mass of the people in want and misery. And since the existing political parties have always acted in the interest of the few who possess, in order to preserve their economic privileges and thereby these unjust conditions, it is the duty of the working class to organize itself into a great working men's party, in order to obtain political power in the State and to procure its economic independence, since the emancipation of the workers can only be attained by the working class itself. The economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated.
3. The material condition of the working classes in all civilized countries is identical, and has, therefore, the same causes. The struggle for their emancipation is an international one, and must, therefore, be mutual and reciprocal. The organization of trade and workmen's societies on a Socialistic basis is therefore a necessity.
4. Based on these principles, "the Socialistic Working Men's Party" has been founded.
5. The Socialistic Working Men's Party demands, therefore, that all means of production (land, machines, railways, telegraphs,

canals, etc.) shall be made as soon as possible the common property of the whole nation for the purpose of abolishing the wage system and putting in its place the co-operation of workers with a just distribution of the products of labour. The party demands, therefore, the enforcement of the following measures for the improvement of the condition of the workers under the present system, and for its final abolition :—

- A. The introduction of a legal working day of eight hours to begin with, and severe punishment of all trespassers.
- B. Sanitary supervision of all the conditions under which labour is carried on, of dwellings, and of food.
- C. Establishment by the National Government of statistical bureaux of labour in all the States. The officials to be elected by the people.
- D. Prohibition of the employment of prisoners' labour by and for private persons.
- E. Prohibition of the employment of children's labour in industrial undertakings before the age of fourteen years.
- F. Compulsory education until the age of fourteen; free supply of all educational appliances to the public schools by the State.
- G. Stringent laws which make the employers responsible for all accidents of the workers arising from negligence of the employers.
- H. A law according to which the workers are to be paid weekly in current coin, and punishment of all infringements.
- I. Free justice.
- K. Abolition of the laws of conspiracy directed against the right of strike and of inciting others.
- L. Abolition of all indirect taxation and introduction of a direct income tax.
- M. Transfer of all financial institutes and insurance companies to and carrying on of the same by the State.
- N. Repeal of all laws which restrict the popular franchise.
- O. Direct legislation by the people with the right to propose and reject laws, and also the right of minority representation.

P. Prohibition of women's labour in employments which are injurious to health and morality.

Q. Equalization of women's wages with men's for equal labour performed.

The organization of the party was fixed by a "Constitution." According to this the National Union should be composed of local and provincial sections; its official expression of opinion was to be the "National Congress," to be called at least every two years, and its executive or controlling organ was to be the "National Executive Committee," or "National Controlling Council," consisting of seven members.

Upon the question at issue whether to act with reference to politics or to trades, it was decided that, although the Trades Unions offered an excellent field for agitation, they were to be considered inadequate for the great social struggle, and that therefore the political agitation was to be accepted, which at the same time was the most effective means of spreading Socialistic ideas.

How well the leaders of the party understood to make the best of the existing circumstances is proved by the rapid increase of the party, for already in the following year (1878) it was represented in twenty-five States by about one hundred sections and 10,000 reliable members, while the enormous circulation of the party papers, of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, with 10,000, of the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung*, with 8,000, of the *Volksstimme*, of St. Louis, 5,000, and of the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, with 3,000 copies, pointed to a far greater number of adherents. Besides this the trade organization had not been neglected. They had founded about twenty working men's papers; the National Labour Union, which at the end of the last decade but one had vainly tried to unite all workmen's societies into one united organization for the purpose of attacking the monopoly of the land, factories, railways, and banks, could now already count among its adherents nine national organizations, with about thirty local branches; and the National Greenback Labour Party, which had formerly been founded among the Irish workmen and small farmers of the West, as an opposition party to the Republicans and Democrats, had now attained such a firm organization that at the autumn elections one

tenth of all the votes belonged to them. At the same time a growing connection between the trade and political parties with a strong inclination of Socialistic tendencies could not be ignored.

The National Labour Union thus already began to leave its original standpoint, according to which nominally, for the sake of unity, all politics were excluded, and to adapt its programme more and more to the Socialistic one. Similarly the members of the Greenback party, while publicly denying all Socialism and Communism, had accepted nearly all the demands of the Socialistic programme, and at Chicago, where already twenty-eight trade societies had been formed on a Socialistic basis, these had allied themselves with the Socialists at the autumn elections, and had sent four Socialists to the legislature.

If Socialism had thus gained a considerable number of adherents within a few years, it was nevertheless chiefly confined to the German element, while the Anglo-American, partly on account of the above-mentioned aversion to Socialistic views, partly on account of the existing want of English papers and agitators, had remained more or less inaccessible. With the rich harvest of 1879 the six years' crisis came to an end, and industrial life received a fresh impulse. With this the Socialistic agitation had lost its rich soil, and in consequence of this its ranks became thinned as rapidly as they formerly had increased. Thus the votes compared with the two previous and other years decreased at Chicago from 14,000 to 1,200, at Cincinnati even from 12,000 to 600; at Louisville, where in 1877 among seven candidates five Socialists had been chosen for the legislature, not one Socialist candidate was now returned; and the whole number of reliable members of the party was now estimated at scarcely a few thousands.

Only the trades movement made further progress, since the workers were trying by strikes, which were generally successful, to make wages as high as formerly, and in this the value of well-organized Trades Unions with sufficient strike funds was too soon felt not to excite active emulation.

To this decrease of Socialism not a little was contributed by the dissensions which broke out about the same time within the party, and which arose partly from matters of principle, partly from personal questions. They first came to light at Christmas,

1878, at the party Congress, held at Albany, at which two distinct tendencies became noticeable with regard to the choice of the means for the realization of Socialistic principles.

The overwhelming majority decided on altogether peaceful proceedings, and wished to solve the social question solely by elections, and this, in order to realize greater results, in union with the members of the Greenback and other opposition parties. It had its chief strength at New York, was under the direction of the secretary of the party, Philipp von Patten, a native of America, it had the "National Executive Committee" and the "National Vigilance Committee" on its side, and controlled the majority of the party organs, that is the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, and the *Milwaukee Journal*.

The Radical minority, on the other hand, believed that they found in direct violence the only just means for the realization of practical results, and rejected on principle all participation in elections as corrupting. Its members were chiefly at New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, it counted among its leaders one of Most's friends, Justus Schwab, of New York, and represented its views in the only paper of this tendency, the *Volksstimme des Westens*, at St. Louis. Between these two tendencies a small but active group, under the leadership of Paul Grottkau, who until his emigration to America a short time before had taken a prominent part in the movement in Germany, and especially at Berlin, occupied an intermediate position, while in the place both of the pernicious policy of compromise on the one hand as well as of useless abstention from the poll on the other, it put forward "independent participation in elections for the sake of revolutionary propaganda" as alone effective and seasonable, and agitated most energetically in favour of this opinion in the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung* and its weekly organ the *Vorbote*.

The real endeavour was, under the well-known motto, "Peaceably if possible; forcibly if necessary," to unite the right and left wing of the party, and to make itself master of the leadership. Consequently a considerable difference arose between the adherents of Patten and those of Grottkau, by which the two party organs were affected, and which considerably increased the existing dissensions, finally leading to the definite separation of

the two sections. The chief cause of this was the question of the attitude of the party with regard to the approaching elections of 1880, as this formed part of the agenda of the third Congress of the party (Alleghany Christmas, 1879). Although Grottkau upheld by all means the *independent* action of the party, he nevertheless had to give way to a large majority, who, by annexation to the other opposition parties, hoped not only to do considerable harm to the two ruling parties, but also to find an entrance into the generally inaccessible circles of English working men, and held the latter all the more important, as the Socialistic movement could not be considered to possess vitality as long as it was for the greater part confined to the German element. As, moreover, Grottkau and his adherents were soon after excluded from the party, on account of machinations on his part that seriously endangered the unity of the party, it came about that in the year 1881 each of the two sections held its own party congress.

The Congress of the "Socialistic Working Men's Party," *i.e.*, of moderate tendencies, met at New York from the 26th to 29th of December, 1881, was attended by twenty-one delegates from sixteen towns, and offered special interest in as far as it accurately represented, on the one hand, the attitude maintained by the party toward the Trades Union movement; on the other, toward the political opposition parties. Discontent was shown with the development of the party, since it had been observed that the greatest part of the adherents stood outside the party organization. The great associations of the Greenbackists, Knights of Labour, Grangers, Landleaguers, Antimonopolists, had all under the influence of the Socialistic agitation more or less inclined to its tendencies, but from a certain timidity of being branded as Socialists or Communists, they had kept aloof from the Socialistic party. An explanation of this was believed to be found in the fact that too much importance had been laid on theory, and to this fact, too, the internal disputes were attributed. In order to prepare the way for a better connection with these organizations, and rather to carry them over into the party camp, the Congress revised their programme, and while more strongly supporting the antimonopolist tendency, adopted, as part of the programme of the party, the demands, on the one hand, for the

abolition of the Presidency and of the Senate by the institution of a States Council to be elected by, and responsible to, the House of Representatives, on the other hand the institution of a national workmen's department and the incorporation of all national Trades Unions.

The chief importance, however, was laid on the trades organizations, which they sought to promote in every way, to turn them from purely industrial to political matters, and thence to draw them into the Socialistic camp. For this end the Congress not only enjoined on each member of the party the urgent duty to enter some trade society, but also resolved, in addition to the German organs of the party, of which the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, for instance, had had a circulation among 15,000 subscribers, to found a similar English organ, which was to appear at New York from January, 1883, under the title, *The Voice of the People*. To this Socialistic influence and co-operation it was especially to be attributed that the "National Trades Congress at Pittsburg" (15th to 18th of November, 1881), at which one hundred and twenty-five delegates represented nearly 300,000 organized workmen, took place, and that it could finish the work already begun by the National Labour Union, but discontinued in consequence of the great crisis, that is to say, the Congress resolved to unite all the local, national, and international trade organizations into one whole "Union of the Trade Societies of the United States and of Canada," in order to emancipate the Proletariat from both ruling parties, and thus to attain its freedom by an independent policy in favour of the workers, and if at first the transitional demands of the programme of the Socialist party found acceptance, a very lively discussion already took place in the second Congress (at Cleveland on the 21st to the 28th of November, 1882) on the untenability of the existing system, and especially of private property in land,—a point which, considering the certainly quite abnormal system of holding property, could not fail at no distant date to become the burning question of the day,—and in the same way the third Congress (at New York from the 21st to the 24th of August, 1883) advocated the transfer to the State of the great private monopolies, especially of telegraphs and railways.

Further results in this respect were, that in April, 1882,

thirty-two New York trade societies, with about 60,000 members, united themselves on the basis of a decidedly Socialistic programme to the "Central Labour Union of New York and Vicinity," a society which shortly afterwards took up a most energetic agitation; that at several working men's congresses (for instance, the State Congress of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia on the 28th of August, 1882, and of Missouri, at St. Louis, from the 2nd to the 5th of October, 1883) Socialistic tendencies became more and more apparent; and that at the elections for the Congress in November, 1882, the great working men's societies of the National Greenback Labour Party, of the Knights of Labour, and of the so-called Central Labour Union, made common cause with the Socialists against the two old parties.

In addition to this, we may mention at once that the Socialistic Working Men's Party further extended its own organization, that it united at a "State Conference," held at New York, on the 11th and 12th of November, 1882, all the sections of the State of New York in a common union for the sake of systematic propaganda, and that it inaugurated a special "State Agitation Committee," which, under the direction of the "National Executive Committee," is empowered by procuring an agitation fund, by sending agitators, by improving the party press, by founding workmen's educational institutes, etc., to spread more rapidly the Socialistic doctrines, and this example is to be followed by the other States.

If the Socialistic Workmen's Party, in its moderate tendency, had, in accordance with this, developed itself into a distinct party of reform, on the other hand the opposition, whose adherents, in consequence of the events during the elections for the Presidency in 1880, had considerably increased at New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Boston, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and other places, had already at that time felt the need for an independent organization and therefore founded, at the beginning of 1881, at Boston a special organ, *The Anarchist*, which was to make propaganda in order to form a "Revolutionary Alliance of the American Continent." When in July of the same year the International Congress of Socialists was called at London, they sent to it delegates from New York and Boston, and following the advice received there, called a congress of their own at Chicago (on the 21st October,

1881), where what had hitherto been a section constituted itself an independent "Revolutionary Socialist Party." The Congress met from the 21st to the 24th of October, was attended by nineteen delegates from ten North American towns (Chicago alone sent ten delegates), and among other things it passed resolutions in favour of the organization of working men into local, national, and international associations, and of revolutionary propaganda by means of the press and of "independent participation at elections." This latter resolution, it is true, was only carried by the deputies from Chicago, *i.e.*, by the followers of Grottkau being in the majority, since they wished by this means to keep the possibility of a reconciliation with the moderate party open; for the rest, however, the Congress did not deny its revolutionary character in any way, for not only were the proceedings of the London Congress endorsed, and the most violent accusations indulged in against the English Government on account of its proceedings against Most and the Irish agitators, but they promised the Socialists of Russia "their full support in the employment of every means that might assist in removing such a monster as the Czar of Russia," and they recommended to every State the formation of armed workmen's societies (such as had existed for some time previous at Chicago) "which should be ready, gun in hand, to defend any attack on the rights of the workers." Besides the *Vorbote*, the *Nye Tyd* at Chicago, and the *Liberty* at Boston, were declared organs of the party, the latter taking the place of the *Anarchist*, and being in no way behind Most's *Freiheit* as regards style.

In consequence of the above-mentioned resolution with regard to participation at elections, several, though unsuccessful, attempts to reunite the two tendencies were shortly afterwards made. But when, in view of the elections in November (1882), the order "to abstain absolutely from elections" was issued from Chicago, all such attempts at union were finally given up, and the Radical party especially, under the influence of Most's agitation, which began shortly afterwards, tended more and more towards the extreme, that is the Anarchist direction, which up to that time had been chiefly represented by the "Social Revolutionary Club" at New York. The latter had been founded on the 15th of November, 1880, by twenty-seven members, and had originally

belonged to the Radical section of the party, but since the London Congress, to which among others it had despatched Justus Schwab as a delegate, and whose programme and organ (*Die Freiheit*) it had accepted, it entirely left the limits of the old party, and in consequence of these Anarchist tendencies, which had induced it even to repudiate the Chicago Congress (October, 1881), was expelled from the "Socialistic Working Men's Party" at the New York Congress (December, 1881). Though numerically the smallest, it was nevertheless the most dangerous circle, since it had not only close connection with Fenians and Nihilists and was ready to render every assistance to their criminal plans, but because it also offered a place of meeting to the chief revolutionists of all countries and counted foremost amongst its members well-known social revolutionists of the Continent, who had been obliged to emigrate (as, for instance, the former deputy of the German Reichstag Hasselmann), and who have latterly been joined by Most. When the latter was released in October, 1882, from his prison in London, and no suitable sphere was open to him in the organization of the party there, while he could not find his livelihood elsewhere, the "Social Revolutionary Club" was the first to interest itself in having him sent to America, and insisted on preparing a most enthusiastic reception for him on his arrival at New York on the 18th of December, 1882. Most, who assumed the office of a deputy from the International in London for the purpose of organizing the revolutionary groups in America, but in reality only wished to collect the necessary money in order shortly again to act his former part in Europe, undertook at once a propaganda tour of several months' duration through the greater towns of the United States, advocated everywhere in his accustomed manner the "propaganda by deed," and recommended the same also in the *Freiheit*, which he now published at New York. It only confirms what we have stated above, that the chief organ of the Radical party, the *Vorbote*, offered him the most active support and publicity, and almost invariably reproduced *verbatim* his sanguinary speeches, while the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* took little or no notice of his doings, and in this probably followed an instruction from the "National Executive Committee," which had determined completely to ignore

Most on account of his actions, which destroyed all discipline and organization in the party. He revenged himself for this in his own way, by abusing most abominably in his *Freiheit* the "*Litteratenring* (literary clique), who were endeavouring to misuse the elections, which originally had been merely a means of agitation, in order to make themselves comfortable in some working men's cabinet or similar social corner of repose," and the bourgeois newspapers fared no better, because they either ignored him, or declared him a harmless fool. Although the pecuniary results of this agitation did not come up to his expectation, nevertheless the revolutionary or Anarchist tendency seems to have received a new impulse from it. It succeeded in less than a year in gaining adherents in a great number of towns, in nearly all of which Most had made speeches, and in a few places, as, for instance, at Chicágo, even in driving the moderate party from the field, so that already in October (1883) a congress of the party was called at Pittsburg, in order to constitute the "American Federation of the International Working Men's Association," on the basis of the London programme. The Congress counted some twenty delegates (Most and Grottkau amongst them) from as many towns, sat from the 14th to 16th of October, and proclaimed, as the principle of the party, "that the present insane and burglarious system must be abolished by every means possible, and that real order must be established in its place," *i.e.*, the intention was to convert all private capital by means of a violent revolution into the common property of society, as this has been further explained in a manifesto composed in various languages, intended for distribution in large quantities, and concluding with the words: "The day has come for us to say: 'Each for All, and All for Each!' Sound the battle-cry: 'Proletarians of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain! Tremble, tyrants of the world! A little longer, and before your shortsighted vision will dawn the red light of the day of retribution!'"

All the members of the party were, therefore, to be organized into a "federation of autonomous groups," the agitation in each of the nine separated "agitation districts" was to be directed by a *special committee*, and a "bureau of information," consisting of

several secretaries (including Grottkau) acquainted with foreign languages, was to assist the intercourse between the groups of America and those of other countries. As customary, the Congress concluded with the declaration of complete agreement with all revolutionists of every country. The "Socialistic Working Men's Party" as such, had not been invited to the Congress, which, however, had been open to Socialists of all shades of opinion, but subsequently the request was made to them also to join the newly created organization in order that Socialism might attain to greater strength by one great union. What attitude to take with regard to this question, occupied the Congress of the "Socialistic Working Men's Party" which was soon afterwards called at Baltimore, was attended by sixteen delegates from twenty-one sections, and sat from the 26th to 28th of December, 1883. As might have been expected, they there claimed for themselves the rights of the older and greater organization, and decided that a union with any organization outside their own party could only be entered into, if their own programme was retained. With reference, however, to their party being affected by a not inconsiderable competition from the opposition party, a few concessions to the more Radical elements could not be denied. Thus, among other things, the power of the leading central-committee was restricted in favour of an increased autonomy of the sections, and the tactics of the party were explained on the ground that the chief significance of participation at elections was to be found rather in successful propaganda than in legislation; in fact, in a manifesto addressed to the whole Proletariat, it was actually hinted that the whole movement would after all finally necessitate a violent solution, since the records of history scarcely admitted of the belief that the bourgeoisie would willingly yield to the growing power of the Proletariat, although the Anarchist policy of outrage and dynamite was mercilessly denounced.

Thus Socialism is represented in America also by two divergent tendencies: a distinct party of reform and a decided party of revolution. The former, with a central organization, and represented in about thirty towns in the United States, has its chief strength at New York, commands the greater intelligence, and *controls the larger newspapers*, counting on the whole about fifty

thousand subscribers and two hundred thousand readers ; its chief element is the mass of German workmen.

The revolutionary party, now forming a federalistic organization and represented up till now by some twenty towns, has its chief power at Chicago ; it has less intelligence, but more energy among its members, and since Most's presence in America, has found in his *Freiheit* a new organ at its disposal ; its present number of adherents is estimated at several thousands, and it recruits itself from the most various nationalities.

According to this the revolutionists would seem still to be in the minority ; but whether they will remain so might be questionable should the new industrial crisis, which already threatens to arise, and is announced by various signs, as, for instance, by the consequences of the enormous railway speculations, take a course at all similar to that in the last decade, and should the ruling class insist in the future on their negative policy with regard to the Proletariat. But that enough revolutionary ferment is to be found among the working men is proved by the annually returning great strikes (one hundred and sixty during the last two years!), which frequently gave rise to military interference on a large scale, and by the numerous protest meetings, which deemed it necessary, publicly to brand such interference for the protection of the property of legalized and privileged thieves, as an unpardonable abuse of the powers of the authorities. The numerous Irish especially must not be underestimated. The rapid development of the Irish Land League, which founded three hundred sections in scarcely three years, sent more than a million dollars to Ireland, and caused the greatest difficulties there to the English Government, as well as the dynamite policy against England, latterly come into favour, and supported by the "Skirmishing Fund," founded by O'Donovan Rossa in 1875, might offer sufficient proof for this assertion. If, nevertheless, the American press still regards Socialism as an "imported plant that cannot take root in America," we must look upon it as a gross self-deception, since the out-and-out Socialistic *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and the *Irish World* are the most widely spread papers of the United States, and the Socialistic doctrines are visibly gaining ground among the Anglo-American workers too.

CONCLUSION.



FINALLY, if we survey the international relations of modern Socialism, it is impossible to ignore the fact that these relations have already begun to leave behind the phase of a mere exchange of ideas which had been begun by the old International (founded in the year 1864, at London), and to assume a more definite form. As may already be gathered from a few allusions in the above sketch, it is the events of the last few years that have had the chief influence in furthering this, and a certain method of procedure cannot be ignored.

There are, in the first instance, the prominent revolutionary dates of the different nations, as, for instance, the days of March, also the anniversaries of such men as Lassalle, Marx, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Blanqui, and the dates of epoch-making *attentats*, such as the murder of the Emperor at St. Petersburg, which are employed for the purpose of keeping alive among the masses revolutionary ideas and of spreading them through all the countries of Europe. It is also noteworthy that these "festivals" are by no means always confined within national limits, but are in many cases, as at Paris, London, Geneva, Brussels, and New York, already assuming a distinctly cosmopolitan character. Of this nature especially is the 18th of March, which is annually celebrated by the Socialists of all countries as the anniversary of the first attempt to set up Socialism, and at the present day the anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, who on the news of his death was honoured everywhere as the first champion of modern *Socialism*, promises to offer an opportunity for similar commemo-

ration. It is, therefore, explicable if those who offer themselves as missionaries of this new gospel, and are consequently seized by the arm of the law, are honoured and esteemed as martyrs. The manifestoes which, occasioned by the great trials for high treason and conspiracy that have lately taken place in all the European capitals, were issued in every place, and were filled by the most furious hatred of the authorities in power, give an abundant proof of this, and such events as the universal outbursts of joy when France declined to give up Hartmann, when the murder of the Emperor at St. Petersburg, the Phoenix Park murders at Dublin, the Overdank ovations, etc., took place, give an approximate representation of the degree in which the public moral feeling has already suffered from such influences. Not only is this so, but from time to time international manifestoes are issued from Geneva, Paris, London, and New York, which, with the most inflammatory language, directly incite the whole Proletariat to revolt in view of the reactionary coalition of the bourgeoisie, and at the same time in many cases point to the "brilliant example of the Nihilists and Fenians." However, the propaganda of the dead letter is no longer sufficient, but the attempt is made by despatching numerous apostles of revolution, of whom many such have turned up in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, to form closer connections and to exert a more permanent influence on the masses. In the case of Germany, the well-known trials at Leipzig of Breuder and his comrades have led to the discovery of attempts of this kind, and have pointed out that London is the part from which they come, while in the case of Austria, according to the latest events at Vienna, Switzerland seems to hold a similar position. Moreover the so-called moderate German Socialist party seeks to maintain lively intercourse with its German comrades, and with parties of the same kind in other countries, a thing which is very considerably facilitated by the numerous colonies which have been formed at Paris, Brussels, London, in Switzerland, and in America, by its members who have been expelled or have emigrated. We need only refer to the tour through the United States undertaken by Fritzsche, to the numerous journeys made for the sake of agitation by Socialist deputies of the Reichstag in Switzerland, to the inter

national activity of Von Vollmar, and many other things ; moreover, the Congress at Copenhagen, at which the German members in Switzerland, Paris, and London were represented by special delegates, and to which various addresses were sent from other countries, has proved that these attempts have not been without success.

It is noteworthy, with regard to the increasing international fraternization, that in the year 1882 the six hundredth anniversary of the Sicilian Vesper was most violently attacked by the whole Socialist press, and that a Franco-Italian fraternal congress was called at Paterno for this purpose.

But the cause has also its realistic side, which especially appears in the subscriptions with which they mutually seek to support each other as far as possible. If we consider that such contributions are collected from the strata of society which are without means, and that not inconsiderable sums are now and then realized, such proofs of solidarity have the greater weight. Especially the more important strikes, contests at elections, comrades who have been arrested as so-called "victims of the reactionary bourgeoisie," and organs of the party are supported in this manner. Thus in France the demonstrative election of the social revolutionary Communist Blanqui (who had been excluded from the amnesty) as deputy of Bordeaux had been made possible solely by the munificent contributions from Germany, England, Belgium, and Italy, and as recently as the beginning of last year (1883) a strike of five thousand porcelain workers at Limoges was supported from London ; while about two years ago the Society of the "Red Cross" was founded at Geneva for the purpose of assisting the "victims of Russian despotism" Von Lavroff and Vera Sassulitsch, and its appeals went the round of the whole Socialist press, and did not fail to meet with success. Germany especially seems to be favoured in this respect in consequence of its many foreign connections, so that not only are subscriptions continually arriving from Paris, London, Switzerland, and especially from America, in support of the organs of the party, the "victims of the Socialist law," and the larger strikes, but also the expenses of the election for the *Reichstag* in 1881 were met for the most part by the money

brought by Fritzsche from America, and more recently money has been received for the election of Bebel at Hamburg.

Finally we have to mention the international congresses which were revived in the year 1881, by the Congress in London for the extreme and by that at Chur for the moderate tendency. If they had formerly contented themselves with the mutual exchange of addresses on the occasion of the separate national congresses, they now wished to enter into closer connection by personal intercourse, in order to establish, if possible, common points of view for common action. Now, while with the moderate party, who reject revolution as a principle, the conviction prevailed that the time for common action had not yet come, rather that the movement must for the present gain in strength through a national basis, the extreme party quickly disposed of all these difficulties by placing on their programme one point only, "the immediate overthrow of all existing order," and by at once taking in hand the practical execution thereof. If they (as would naturally be expected) have been unable to attain any striking success, yet the many outrages and excesses which have since then gone the round of nearly all the countries of Europe prove, nevertheless, that these fanatics were quite in earnest with their resolutions, and only the stricter measures resorted to everywhere lately have somewhat intimidated them, so that a comparative calm in what were formerly revolutionary centres cannot fail to be noticed. It is true that according to various reports the cause of this is partly to be found in the fact that the chief agitators have preferred to exchange in time the questionable safety of Europe with the complete liberty of America, in order to resume from there with renewed strength the war of annihilation against European society. These reports seem all the more probable since the social revolutionary press of America for some time back, while giving a detailed statement of rules of conduct, has been continually recommending the so-called "dynamite policy," and as infernal machines, which are made at Philadelphia and New York in large quantities, are said frequently to find entrance into Europe (and this the latest events in London only seem to confirm); and at a meeting held as lately as the 10th of February of this year at New York by the German Czech Anarchists, at which Most and

the chief culprit of the Merstallinger *attentat*, who had fled from Vienna, took part, the fullest sympathy was expressed with the Anarchists of Vienna with regard to their action, and the advice was given "to make themselves more formidable than heretofore, and to spare no prince nor aristocrat."

For the rest the current year seems to be particularly fruitful for the further extension of international connections, for there are no less than four international congresses in prospect, in order to accommodate the various tendencies. Thus the active committee of the Swiss Workmen's Congress has proposed to call an "International Workmen's Congress," in order to bring about further agreement with regard to the establishment of an international system of factory legislation, while the deliberations of the Paris International "Conference" are to be continued at a festive "congress" at Turin during the time of the Exhibition there; the social revolutionists, on the other hand, intend to hold a general congress at Paris; and the Anarchists, finally, contemplate a rendezvous at Barcelona in September.

If Germany alone has been exempt from all the more serious outbreaks which have been the order of the day in other countries, this might be attributed not a little, apart from the natural phlegmatic disposition and doctrinairism of the Germans, to the influence of the law against Socialists, and we must retain the hope that if the tendency pointed out by the imperial proclamation of the 17th of November, 1881, is firmly persevered in, the sound sense of the German workmen will soon regain its prevalence, and will turn away from the Socialistic fallacies.

May every German ever bear in mind that it was his aged Emperor from whose most gracious decision the mighty idea of social reform sprang, and that even in this difficult question the German Chancellor, a brilliant example to all civilized States, has begun the grand work of union! Let every German hold fast to this, and if he does his duty, the time can no longer be far off when peace and concord will again return to our social life, for the true safety of Germany's greatness and unity!

APPENDIX.

I.

STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKMEN'S
ASSOCIATION.LONDON, *September*, 1864.

CONSIDERING :—

That the emancipation of the working classes must be carried out by the working classes themselves and that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes does not imply a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and for the abolition of all class domination ;

That the economical dependence of the working man on the monopolist of the means of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of servitude in every form, social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence ;

That consequently the economic emancipation of the working classes is the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated as a mere means to an end ;

That all endeavours directed to this great aim have hitherto failed from want of union between the various departments of labour of each country and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of the various countries ;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which comprises all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and whose solution depends on the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries ;

That the present reawakening of the working classes of the

industrial countries of Europe, while raising new hopes, contains a solemn warning against a return to old mistakes, and demands the close connection of the movements which are as yet separated;

For these reasons the first International Congress of Workmen declares that the International Workmen's Association and all societies and individuals connected with it acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their behaviour among themselves and towards all their fellow-men without regard to colour, creed, or nationality. The Congress regards it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen not only for himself, but also for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights.

II.

EISENACH PROGRAMME.

EISENACH, *August*, 1869.

§ I.

The Social Democratic Workmen's Party strives for the establishment of a free State governed by the people.

§ II.

Every member of the Social Democratic Workmen's Party pledges himself to support with all his power the following principles :—

1. The present political and social conditions are extremely unjust, and must therefore be attacked with the greatest energy.
2. The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes is not a struggle for class privileges and advantages, but for equal rights and equal duties and for the abolition of all class domination.
3. The economical dependence of the labourer on the capitalist forms the basis of servitude in every form, and consequently the Social Democratic party aims at abolishing the present system of *production* (wage system) and at securing for every worker the *full result of his labour* by means of co-operative production.
4. *Political freedom* is an indispensable condition for the

economical emancipation of the working classes. The social question is therefore inseparable from the political ; its solution depends thereon, and is possible only in a Democratic State.

5. Considering that the political and economical emancipation of the working class is only possible if the latter carries on the struggle in concert and in unison, the Social Democratic Workmen's Party offers a united organization, which, however, makes it possible for each to make his influence felt for the good of the whole.

6. Considering that the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem which comprises all countries in which the modern state of society exists, the Social Democratic Workmen's Party considers itself, as far as the laws of the Society permit it, as a branch of the International Workmen's Association and unites its endeavours therewith.

§ III.

The following are emphasized as demands in the agitation of the Social Democratic Workmen's Party :—

1. The granting of general, equal, direct, and secret suffrage to all men, from twenty years of age upwards, in the elections for the Parliament, the Landtag of the single States, the provincial and parochial representations, as well as all other representative bodies. A sufficient allowance is to be made to the representatives chosen.

2. Introduction of direct legislation (that is, the right of proposing and rejecting) by the people.

3. Abolition of all privileges of rank, property, birth, and creed.

4. Substitution of a national citizen force in place of the standing army.

5. Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church.

6. Compulsory education in the national schools, and free education in all public educational institutes.

7. Independence of the law courts, introduction of jury and professional courts, introduction of public and verbal legal proceedings, and free administration of justice.

8. Abolition of all laws against the press, association, and

combination ; introduction of the normal working day ; limitation of women's, and prohibition of children's labour.

9. Abolition of all indirect taxation, and introduction of a direct progressive income and legacy tax, as the only taxation.

10. Government support of benefit societies, and public credit for free co-operative societies with democratic guarantees.

III.

GOTHA PROGRAMME.

GOTHA, *May*, 1875.

§ I.

Labour is the source of all wealth and of all culture, and since generally useful labour is possible only through society, the whole product of labour belongs to society, that is to all its members, it being the duty of all to work, and all having equal rights in proportion to their reasonable requirements.

In the present state of society the means of production are the monopoly of the capitalist class ; the dependence of the working class resulting from this is the cause of misery and servitude in every form.

The emancipation of labour requires the conversion of the means of production into the common property of society and the social regulation of the labour of society, the product of labour being used for the common good and justly divided.

The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in relation to which all other classes are only a reactionary mass.

§ II.

Starting with these principles, the Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany uses all legal means to attain a free State and a Socialistic condition of society, the destruction of the iron law of wages, the abolition of exploitation in every form, the removal of all social and political inequality.

The Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany, though at present acting within national limits, is conscious of the international character of the workmen's movement, and is determined

to fulfil every duty which it imposes on the workers, in order to realize the fraternity of all men.

The Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany demands, for the purpose of preparing for the solution of the social question, the establishment of Socialistic co-operative societies, supported by the State, under the democratic control of the working people. These co-operative societies must be instituted for industry and agriculture to such an extent as to cause the Socialistic organization of the labour of all to arise therefrom.

The Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany demands, as the fundamental basis of the State :—

1. Universal, equal, direct right of election and voting, with secret and obligatory polling, for all citizens from twenty years of age at all elections and votes in State and parish. The day fixed for election and voting must be a Sunday or holiday.

2. Direct legislation by the people. Decision on war and peace by the people.

3. Universal obligation to serve. A national citizen force in place of the standing army.

4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, especially of the laws with regard to the press and meetings; in short, of all laws which restrict free expression of opinion, free thought, and inquiry.

5. Jurisdiction by the people. Free administration of justice.

6. Universal and equal education of the people by the State. General compulsory education. Free education in all educational institutes. Religious teaching to be made a private matter.

The Socialist Workmen's Party of Germany demands, within the present society :—

1. The greatest extension possible of the political rights and liberties in accordance with the above demands.

2. One single progressive taxation for the State and parish, in place of all existing taxes, especially the indirect ones that fall on the people.

3. Unrestricted right of combination.

4. A normal working day corresponding to the needs of society. Prohibition of Sunday labour.

5. Prohibition of children's labour and of all women's labour in employments that are injurious to health and morality.

6. School laws benefiting life and health of the workers. Sanitary control of workmen's dwellings. Supervision of mines, of factory, workshop, and home industry by officials chosen by the working men. Effective legislation with regard to employers' liability.

7. Regulation of the employment of prisoners.

8. Complete self-administration of all workmen's benefit and support funds.

IV.

MANIFESTO PUBLISHED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE WYDEN CONGRESS.

August, 1880.

Socialist workmen's party of Germany ! To the fellow-parties and societies of comrades of all countries who have addressed greetings and sympathy to the latest Congress of the Social Democracy.

Comrades ! Brothers ! The representatives of the Socialist workmen of Germany assembled at the Congress at Wyden thank you heartily for your brotherly wishes and expressions of sympathy, and give you the assurance that the Social Democracy in the future, as ever since its beginning, will remain unchanged and unwavering at its post in the vanguard of those who struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited people, and will carry on with energy, circumspection, and perseverance the war of destruction against the insane and criminal order of State and society of the present day. The deliberations at Wyden and their immediate and future consequences will convince you that the Social Democracy, uncowed by the persecutions of an infamous Government and a no less infamous bourgeoisie, and in spite of them, has remained the same, the same in extent and influence, as in devotion to principle and revolutionary energy.

For the overwhelming majority of the German Social Democrats has never indulged in the delusion that its principles might be established in all peacefulness in a purely "legal" way, that is, *that the privileged classes would willingly and without compulsion give up their privileged position.* But that if the ruling

classes should cut off from us every "legal" means, we should therefore renounce the carrying out of our principles, this has never entered the mind of any German Social Democrat, and it has always been considered obvious that in this case, which, according to historical experience, is possible, every means would be right for us.

If we cannot bend from above downwards, we must break from below upwards.

We are in this position at the present day in Germany. Our adversaries, the Government and bourgeoisie, are blind enough radically to exclude every possibility of a peaceful development and to drive matters necessarily and inevitably to a violent solution. The present political and economical rulers of Germany will have no compromise, no agreement, but the war of annihilation. Good; if they wish for it, they shall have it, and have it in its completeness and entirety, the responsibility resting on their heads. The active proceedings of our party, hitherto circumspect and conscious of its aims, are a guarantee that it will never fall into playing and bungling with revolution, a course of action as childish as criminal, which, in view of the present as yet complete want of preparation of the people for a revolution, would necessarily most deeply injure our cause and retard its success by many decades and would waste the precious blood of the people in the most unscrupulous and criminal manner.

The German Social Democracy rather considers it the indispensable condition of a victorious revolution, and therefore as the first duty of every genuine revolutionist, to prepare with all one's might for the revolution which shall cause the world to tremble and for its violent accomplishment by the spreading of our principles among the people, and by an always increasing enlistment of the same into our movement, by improving the fighting power and capacity for action of the party destined to lead in the impending struggle, and by weakening our opponents and parrying their blows directed against us. If in the inevitable course of things it comes to the worst, then the German Social Democrats will show that even there they know how to do their duty, and they will then not have to trust to mere chance, but will go to battle well prepared and with the prospect of victory.

In this sense the resolutions of our congress have been framed. As, ever since our party has existed, the elections have been considered as a principal means of agitation, especially at the present time, when all other agitation is cut off, and with a view to agitation and propaganda, the participation in all elections (offering any chance of success) for the Reichstag, Landtag, and Parish, and especially the most general and energetic action at the Reichstag elections for next year, is recommended to the party.

The party has unanimously declared as a means of establishing the intellectual connection between the members of the party, as representative of the party in the press, as a platform for fixing and sifting principles, as a publisher of the watchword, and as a means of the intellectual intercourse of the movement in Germany with that of all other countries, in short as the official organ of the party, the *Sozialdemocrat* of Zürich, which formerly acted only provisionally as such.

But in addition to all these internal matters concerning the party, the connection with the brother parties of other countries and languages, the solidarity of the Socialist Proletariat of the whole world, has not been forgotten one moment. And in order to emphasize anew and more strongly than ever before, the internationality of the Socialist movement, which the German Social Democracy had always confessed and practised, and to establish a regular and uninterrupted intercourse between our party and the brother parties of all countries and languages, a foreign post for communication has been established, which is herewith introduced to you and desires to enter into complete and permanent connection with you, and which, in addition to this work, must also observe the connection of the party with the German comrades outside Germany.

Be sure of this in any case : wherever the emancipation of the working people from political and social slavery is concerned, there you will also find the German Social Democracy on the spot with advice and with deed, with sympathy and active help, willing and ready to fight ! Long live International Socialism !

With Social Democratic greetings !

V.

LAW AGAINST THE ATTEMPTS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY
ENDANGERING PUBLIC SAFETY.

Of the 21st of October, 1878.

We Wilhelm, by the grace of God German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc., decree in the name of the empire, with the consent of the Bundesrath¹ and of the Reichstag, as follows :—

§ 1.

Societies which by Social Democratic, Socialistic, or Communistic attempts, seek to overthrow the existing order of State or society, are forbidden.

This applies also to societies in which Social Democratic, Socialistic, or Communistic attempts directed to the overthrow of the existing order of State or society appear in a manner dangerous to the public peace, and especially to the concord of the different classes of society.

What refers to societies holds equally good to combinations of every kind.

§ 2.

In the case of section 1, clause 2, section 35 of the law of the 4th of July, 1868, with regard to the private rights of industrial and trades unions (Bundesgesetzblatt,² p. 415 *sqq.*), is applied to certified societies.

In the same case section 29 of the law referring to registered benefit societies of the 7th of April, 1876 (Reichsgesetzblatt,³ p. 125 *sqq.*), is applied with regard to registered benefit societies.

§ 3.

Independent credit banks (not certified), which according to their statutes aim at the mutual support of their members, are

¹ Federal Council.

² Official legal publication for the German Confederation.

³ Official legal publication for the Empire.

in case of section 1, clause 2, not forbidden for the present, but placed under special State control.

If several independent clubs of this kind are united into an association, and the attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2, appear in one of them, the expulsion of this club from the Association and control over it can be enforced.

In the same way, if the indicated attempts appear in a branch society, the control is to be confined to that only.

§ 4.

The authorities entrusted with the control are empowered :—

1. To be present at all the sittings and meetings of the Society.
2. To call and to conduct general meetings.
3. To examine the books, writings, and funds, and to demand information on the conditions of the Society.
4. To forbid the execution of resolutions which are likely to further the attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2.
5. To entrust suitable persons with the supervision of the duties of the President or other directing members of the Society.
6. To undertake charge and control of the funds.

§ 5.

If the general meeting, the President, or some other leading member of the Society acts against the orders issued by the controlling authorities within their power, or if the attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2, appear in the Society even after the control has been instituted, the Society may be prohibited.

§ 6.

The chief police of each State is empowered to carry out the prohibition and to institute the control. The prohibition of foreign societies lies with the Chancellor.

The prohibition in all cases is to be announced in the *Reichsanzeiger*,¹ and if decreed by the chief police of the State, also in the gazette of the place or district fixed upon by the authorities for official announcements.

The prohibition is in force for the whole empire, and embraces

¹ Official gazette for the Empire.

all branches of the Society, as well as every alleged new society which practically seems equivalent to the old.

§ 7.

By reason of the prohibition the funds of the Society, as well as everything intended for the purposes of the Society, are to be confiscated by the authorities.

When the prohibition has become final, the administrative authorities, to be named by the police court, have to commission suitable persons with carrying out and supervising the settlement of the affairs of the Society (liquidation), as well as to publish the names of the liquidators.

The decision of the administrative Society takes the place of the resolution of the general meeting provided for in the laws or statutes.

The liquidations of the Society are to be employed in accordance with the statutes of the Society, or if necessary, with general legal enactments, but not in such a way as to injure the just demands of other parties concerned, or of the members of the Society.

The time at which the prohibition becomes final is to be considered as the time for dissolving or closing the Society (or the funds).

An appeal against the orders of the authorities can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 8.

The prohibition issued by the chief police court of the State, as well as the enforcement of a control, is to be announced by a written warrant, giving reasons, to the President of the Society, provided one such exists in the country. Against this the President of the Society is free to appeal (§ 26).

The appeal is to be sent to the authorities who have issued the warrant within one week of its delivery.

The appeal has no power of delaying.

§ 9.

Meetings in which Social Democratic, Socialistic, or Communist attempts directed against the overthrow of the existing order of State or society appear are to be dissolved.

Meetings with regard to which any facts lead to the assumption that they are intended for the promotion of aims indicated in the first clause are forbidden.

Public festivities and processions fall under the same head as societies.

§ 10.

The police is empowered to carry out the prohibition and dissolution.

An appeal can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 11.

Literature, in which Social Democratic, Socialistic, and Communistic aims, directed to the overthrow of the existing order of State or society, appear in a manner endangering the public peace, and especially the concord of the classes composing society, is forbidden.

In the case of periodical literature, the prohibition can be extended also to its future publication as soon as the prohibition of one number has taken place in accordance with this law.

§ 12.

The chief police of each State is empowered to carry out the prohibition; in case of periodicals published in the country, the police of the district, in which the periodical is published, has this power. The prohibition of the future circulation of a periodical published in a foreign country lies with the Chancellor.

The prohibition is to be announced in the manner prescribed in section 6, clause 2, and is in force for the whole empire.

The prohibition of a publication issued by the chief police of each State is to be announced by a written warrant giving reasons, to the editor or publisher; the prohibition of a not periodically appearing publication also to the author, provided these persons are in the country.

An appeal (§ 26) against this warrant is open to the editor or publisher, as well as to the author.

The appeal is to be sent within one week of the delivery of the *warrant to the authorities who have issued it.*

The appeal has no power of delaying.

§ 14.

By reason of the prohibition the publications against which it is directed are to be confiscated where they are found for the purpose of circulation. The confiscation may be extended to the plates and types which are used for its reproduction: in the case of printed publications, properly so called, the distribution of the type must be enforced instead of its confiscation, if this is desired by the party concerned. The confiscated publications, plates, and types are to be rendered useless when the prohibition has become final.

An appeal can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 15.

The police is empowered provisionally to confiscate publications of the nature indicated in section 11, as well as the plates and types used for their reproduction, even before the issue of a warrant. The confiscated publication is to be handed to the chief police within twenty-four hours. The latter must immediately either cancel the confiscation or issue the prohibition within one week. If the prohibition does not take place within this period, the confiscation is invalid, and the various articles, plates, and types must be returned.

§ 16.

Collecting subscriptions for the purpose of Social Democratic, Socialistic, or Communistic attempts directed to the overthrow of the existing order of State or society, as well as a public appeal for such subscriptions, are forbidden by the police. The prohibition must be publicly announced.

An appeal can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 17.

Whoever becomes a member of a prohibited society (§ 6), or acts in the interest of such a society, will be punished with a fine not exceeding five hundred marks, or with imprisonment not exceeding three months.

A similar punishment falls upon any one who takes part in a prohibited meeting (§ 9), or does not leave as soon as a meeting has been dissolved by the police.

Whoever takes part in a society or meeting as president,

director, steward, agent, speaker, or treasurer, or urges people to attend a meeting, is liable to imprisonment from one month to one year.

§ 18.

Whoever offers accommodation to a prohibited society or a prohibited meeting will be imprisoned for not less than one month or more than one year.

§ 19.

Whoever distributes, continues, or reprints a prohibited publication (§§ 11, 12) or a provisionally confiscated one (§ 15) will be punished with a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, or with imprisonment not exceeding six months.

§ 20.

Whoever acts against a prohibition issued according to section 16 will be punished with a fine not exceeding five hundred marks, or with imprisonment not exceeding three months. Besides this any sum obtained by a forbidden collection or appeal, or its equivalent, is to be declared forfeited to the poor fund of the place of collection.

§ 21.

Whoever without knowledge, yet after previous announcement of the prohibition in the *Reichsanzeiger* (§§ 6, 12), commits one of the actions prohibited in sections 17, 18, 19, is to be punished with a fine not exceeding one hundred and fifty marks, or with imprisonment.

The same penalty is incurred by any one who, after previous announcement of the prohibition, acts in opposition to a prohibition in accordance with section 16.

The final clause of section 20 will be applied.

§ 22.

Persons who make the agitation for attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2, their business, in case of a conviction for infringements of sections 17 to 20, are liable to limitation of sojourn, in addition to the restriction of their liberty.

By reason of this regulation, sojourn in certain districts or places may be refused by the chief police to those convicted; this can take place with regard to their own residence, however,

only in case they have not yet resided there for six months. Foreigners can be expelled by the chief police from the Empire.

An appeal can only be made to the supreme authorities.

Infringements of this will be punished with imprisonment of not less than one month or more than one year.

§ 23.

In the circumstances indicated in section 22, clause 1, hotel and innkeepers, retailers of brandy or spirits, printers, booksellers, circulating librarians, and proprietors of reading-rooms are liable to be forbidden to carry on their trade in addition to the restrictions of their liberty.

§ 24.

Persons who make it their business to promote the attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2, or who have legally been condemned to a penalty by reason of an enactment of this law, can be deprived by the chief police of their licence of publicly distributing publications either as a matter of profession or not, as well as of their licence of hawking printed publications.

An appeal can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 25.

Whoever acts in opposition to a conviction made in accordance with section 23, or to an enactment issued in accordance with section 24, will be punished by a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, or with detention or imprisonment not exceeding six months.

§ 26.

A commission will be formed to decide appeals made in cases referred to in sections 8 and 13. The Bundesrath chooses four members from its midst and five others from the members of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the realm or of the separate States.

The election of these five members lasts for the time of duration of this law, and as long as they hold judicial office.

The Emperor nominates its president, and from among the number of the members of the commission its vice-president.

§ 27.

The commission decides when there is a quorum of five members, of which three at least must belong to the judicial

members. Before the decision on the appeal, those concerned must be granted an opportunity of verbally or in writing stating the reasons for their appeals. The commission is empowered to obtain evidence to its fullest extent, especially through interrogation by oath of witnesses and of those who understand the question, or to have evidence collected through any of the authorities of the realm or of any of the States of the Confederation. With regard to the duty of allowing oneself to be examined as a witness, or as one who understands the question, as well as with regard to the punishment incurred by disobedience, the enactments of the civil laws in force at the seat of the commission or of the authorities which have been entrusted to collect evidence, will be employed. The decisions are made after freely considering the evidence, and are final.

For the rest the course of procedure of the commission is regulated by a plan to be drawn up by it, which must be subjected to the consent of the Bundesrath.

§ 28.

In districts or towns in which the public safety is endangered by attempts indicated in section 1, clause 2, the central authorities of the separate States may pass the following orders, by consent of the Bundesrath, for a space of time not exceeding one year, in as far as they are not already legally permissible :—

1. That meetings can only be held by previous consent from the police; this restriction does not refer to meetings held for the purpose of a recognized election for the Reichstag or of representation in the State.

2. That the distribution of publications in public thoroughfares, streets, squares, or in other public places may not take place.

3. That persons who are likely to endanger public safety and order can be forbidden to reside in the districts or towns.

4. That the possession, carrying, introduction, and sale of arms may be forbidden, restricted, or made dependent on certain conditions.

An account must be given to the Reichstag immediately at its *next time of meeting* of every regulation made in accordance with *the above enactments*.

The regulations made are publicly to be announced in the *Reichsanzeiger*, and in the manner prescribed for the enactments of the chief police.

Whoever acts in opposition to these orders, or to the regulations made in accordance with them, willingly, or after public announcement of the same, will be punished by a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, or with detention or imprisonment not exceeding six months.

§ 29.

What authorities are meant in each separate State by the title of Landespolizeibehörde¹ Polizeibehörde,² will be made known by the central authority of each State of the Empire.

§ 30.

This law will come into force on the day of proclamation, and will continue to be so until the 31st of March, 1881.

Authentically by document with our most gracious signature and our imperial seal.

Potsdam, 21st of October, 1878.

By the most gracious order of his Majesty the Emperor,

L.S. FRIEDRICH WILHELM, CROWN PRINCE.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK.

VI.

LAW CONCERNING THE AUTHENTIC EXPLANATION
AND THE LEGAL DURATION OF THE LAW
AGAINST THE ATTEMPTS OF SOCIAL DEMO-
CRACY ENDANGERING PUBLIC SAFETY OF OCT.
21ST, 1878.

Of May 31st, 1880.

We Wilhelm, by the grace of God German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc., decree in the name of the Empire, with the consent of the Bundesrath and of the Reichstag, as follows :—

¹ Police authorities of the State.

² Police authorities.

§ 1.

The enactment laid down in § 28, No. 3, of the law of the 21st of October, 1878, is modified to the effect that it does not apply to members of the Reichstag or to a legislative assembly, who stay at the seat of these bodies during their session.

An appeal against the regulations which are issued in accordance with the orders described in § 28 of the above-mentioned law can only be made to the supreme authorities.

§ 2.

The duration of the law against the attempts of Social Democracy endangering public safety of the 21st of October, 1878 (R.-G.-Bl. 351), by changing § 30 of this law, is herewith extended until the 30th of September, 1884.

By document, with our most gracious signature and our imperial seal.

Berlin, the 31st of May, 1880.

L.S.

WILHELM.

PRINCE VON BISMARCK.

VII.

MOST GRACIOUS MESSAGE.

Of the 17th of November, 1881.

We Wilhelm, by the grace of God German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc.

We have, in accordance with the wishes expressed in the last Reichstag, contrary to former usage, called the Reichstag in the current year, in order to demand its activity with regard to arranging the financial matters of the State.

The Bill will immediately be laid before the Reichstag. The latter gives a pleasing picture of the progressing financial development of the empire and of the good results of the economic policy pursued by the consent of the Reichstag. The increase of the amounts to be remitted to the various States of the realm *is considerably greater than the increase of the contributions from the States. That the total amount of the latter compared with the current financial year has been increased is accounted for by*

the non-receipt of part of the income, and by requirements which in the interest of the realm could not be neglected.

The agreement with the free city of Hamburg about the manner of its inclusion in the German Zollgebiet,* the Reichstag will welcome with us as a joyful advance towards the goal aimed at by the Constitution of the unity of Germany as a financial and commercial country.

The Federal Governments are convinced that the Reichstag will not think too dearly bought the advance of German unity in this direction and the advantages arising therefrom to the empire and to its greatest commercial town by the expense to which the empire has contributed, and will grant its consent to the Bill with reference to this.

In the attempt to remove the inconveniences to business arising from the concurrence of the session of the Reichstag with that of the Diets, the Federal Governments have proposed to the former Reichstag a Bill which advocates a prolongation of the period for legislature and budgets of the empire, with regard to which, however, no agreement has been attained. The pressing business of the Governments and the necessity of securing the indispensable time and free movement to the deliberations of the legislating bodies of the empire, as well as of the separate States, induces the Federal Governments to submit to the decision of the Reichstag a suitable proposal.

In February of this year already we caused our opinion to be expressed that the cure of the social sores does not exclusively lie in the repression of Social Democratic extravagances, but must equally be sought in the positive furtherance of the welfare of the working men. We deem it our imperial duty again to urge this task on the Reichstag, and we should look back with the greater satisfaction upon all the results, with which God has visibly blessed our government, if we succeeded in feeling sure that we had bequeathed to the Fatherland new and lasting securities of its inner peace and to the needy greater safety and productiveness.

* *Territory belonging to the Customs Union.*—NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.

of the support to which they are entitled. In attempts directed to this aim, we feel sure of the consent of all Federal Governments, and we rely on the support of the Reichstag without difference of party opinions.

In this sense the Bill proposed by the Federal Governments in the last session, with regard to the insurance of workmen against accidents arising from their trade, is being submitted to a revision, the transactions of the Reichstag thereon being taken in consideration in order to prepare it for fresh deliberation. It will be followed by a supplementary proposal which aims at an equal organization of the trades relief funds in case of sickness. But those also, who are disabled by age or ill-health, have a well-founded claim on the community to a higher measure of care from the State, than was possible to grant them hitherto.

To find the right ways and means for these provisions is a difficult, but also one of the highest tasks of every community, which rests on the moral foundations of a Christian life of the people. The closer connection with the realistic powers of this life of the people and the formation of the latter into incorporated associations under the protection and furtherance of the State will make possible, as we hope, the solution of problems which the repressive measures of the State alone could not master in the same extent. Nevertheless even in this way the aim cannot be attained without the employment of considerable means.

The further introduction of the reform in taxation begun during the last few years opens out productive sources of income by indirect taxes of the empire, in order to enable the Government to remove pressing direct State taxation and to release the communities from the burdens arising from the support of the poor and of schools, from additions to taxes on land and income, and from other pressing direct taxes. The safest means for this lies, according to the experience of neighbouring countries, in the introduction of the monopoly of tobacco, on which we intend to await the decision of the legislating bodies of the empire.

By this means and also by the repetition of former proposals for an increased *taxation of drink*, it is not a financial surplus that is attempted, but the change of *existing direct burdens* of the State and community in less pressing indirect

imperial taxes. These aims are not only free from hidden fiscal motives, but also from reactionary ones ; their effect in political departments will be only this, that we shall leave the newly-created empire strengthened by our united and productive finances to the coming generations.

The first condition for further decision on the above-mentioned social and political reforms consists in the preparation of a reliable statistic of the trades and professions carried on by the population of the empire, for which at present there is no sufficient and reliable material. As far as the latter can be procured by means of the administrations, it will shortly be collected. Complete census, however, can probably only be obtained by a legal enactment, the proposal for which will be submitted to the Reichstag.

If, therefore, in the department of internal legislation extensive and difficult tasks lie before us, whose solution cannot be attained in the short space of one session, but to whose furtherance we feel ourselves pledged before God and man, without considering their immediate success, we feel all the more pleasure to be able to speak with complete satisfaction with regard to the state of our foreign policy. If during the last ten years, contrary to many predictions and fears, we have succeeded in retaining for Germany the blessings of peace, yet in none of these years have we looked with the same confidence to the continuation of this blessing in the future as in the present ones. The interviews which we had at Gastein with the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, and at Dantzic with the Emperor of Russia, were the expression of close personal and political relations, which unite us with the monarchs so nearly related to us, and Germany with the two powerful neighbouring empires. These relations, founded on mutual confidence, offer a reliable assurance of the continuation of peace, to which the policy of the imperial courts is directed in perfect harmony. That this common policy of peace will be a successful one we may hope with the fuller assurance as all our relations to all other Powers are the most friendly. The belief in the peace-loving trustworthiness of the German policy has made an impression upon all nations, which we consider it our bounden duty, before God and the German Fatherland, to strengthen and to justify.

By document, with our most gracious signature and our imperial seal.

Berlin, the 17th of November, 1881.

L.S.

WILHELM.

VON BISMARCK.

VIII.

MOST GRACIOUS MESSAGE.

Of the 14th of April, 1883.

We Wilhelm, by the grace of God German Emperor,
King of Prussia, etc.

We have at all times considered it one of the first duties

taken upon us as Emperor to direct the same care and solicitude to the condition of the working classes in the whole empire which we endeavour to carry out in Prussia as a continuation of the reforms founded by our father, of blessed memory, at the beginning of this century. This duty has been specially present with us since the issue of the law against Socialists, and then already we expressed our conviction that the legislation must not be confined to penal measures for the suppression and prevention of movements endangering the State, but that it must seek to introduce reforms which shall remove or diminish the evils combated by penal laws, and which shall further the welfare of the working men, and be of a nature to improve and secure their condition.

We gave expression to this conviction especially in our message of the 17th of November, 1881, and rejoiced at the first success of our cares and aims in this direction, when we could release the first two grades of society in our Kingdom of Prussia at least from their duty of income-tax to the State. Grateful for the unanimous support of our high allies, grateful for the devoted labour of our authorities, we see that in the department of imperial legislation, too, the beginning of the work of reform has prospered so much that, at the beginning of the present session, the Bill for the insurance of workmen against accidents arising from their trade could be submitted to the Reichstag in a new shape, revised with reference to the former transactions on this matter, and could be supplemented by a Bill for the organization of the system of industrial sickness funds. Since then, following the deliberations of the Reichstag on these proposals with special attention, and gladly offering our help in facilitating them in every way possible, we have clung to the wish and the hope that this session of the Reichstag will not close without these proposals assuming a form adequate to attain their purpose, securing their results, and making their sanction as laws possible.

We have also noticed with appreciation and satisfaction that the serious work which has been bestowed on the consultation about the law with regard to sickness funds has advanced this part of the whole task so far already, that with regard to it the fulfilment of our expectations appears scarcely doubtful. But we are filled with anxiety that the most important proposal with regard to insurance against accidents has hitherto not been further advanced, and that we cannot therefore reckon on a speedy decision thereon with equal certainty. If this proposal now were to remain neglected, the hope, too, that in the next session further proposals for provision against age and infirmity might become legally decided, would completely disappear, if the discussions on the Budget

